Flashback

Journal of the Washington County Historical Society
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The University of Arkansas Celebrates Sesquicentennial

Flagship institution commemorates 150 years 1871-2021

Washington County Historical Society

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Journal of the Washington County Historical Society

Preserving our past for future generations

Volume 71 Spring 2021 Number 1

Contents

2 The University of Arkansas, 1871-2021
By David Edmark

22 Washington County Historical Society Marks Seven Decades
By Maylon Rice

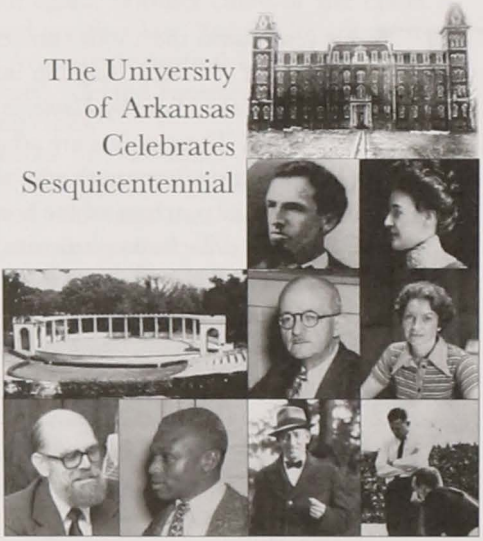
24 Arkansas State Senators Earnhart, Jones, and Sprick Take on Muhammad Ali: The UofA Symposium '69 Controversy
By Dan Durning

41 UofA's Nelson Hackett Project: One Man's Struggle for Freedom
By Michael Pierce

48 Flashback Index, 2020: Revised
By Patsy Watkins

On the cover:
Images from the UofA's past. From top to bottom and left to right: Old Main (ca. 1870s); Noah Putnam Gates, first president of Arkansas Industrial University; Jobelle Holcomb, first dean of women; the Greek Theatre; Walter J. Lemke, founder of WCHS; Ruth Cohoon, first director of women's athletics; Miller Williams, director of the UA Press; Silas Hunt, first Black student admitted to the UofA; Robert Leflar, dean of UofA law school; Frank Broyles, director of men's athletics.

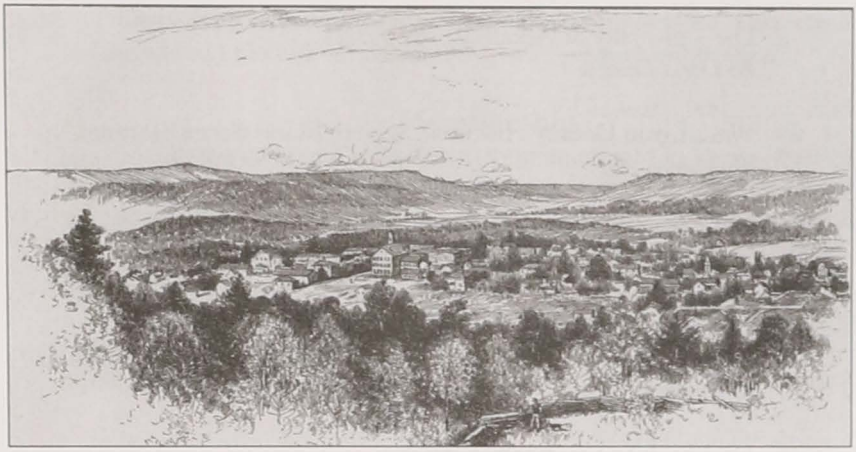
The University of Arkansas Celebrates Sesquicentennial



The University of Arkansas 1871 - 2021

150 years of noteworthy moments

By David Edmark



An 1870s lithograph shows Fayetteville as it looked at the time it was selected as the site for the university. Image courtesy Charlie Alison.

This year marks the 150th anniversary of the founding in Washington County of Arkansas' flagship university. The University of Arkansas story is marked here by *Flashback* with highlights from the past century and a half. These points are adapted from the UofA website's historical timeline at https://www.uark.edu/about/time-line.php.

From the initial purchase of the homestead and farm of William McIlroy west of the Fayetteville business district, the University has spread across 718 acres, as reported by *U.S. News and World Report* in 2020. Thus, the University's presence in Fayetteville for the past 150 years has been a critical force shaping not only the physical nature but also the social and commercial culture of Washington County, and northwest Arkansas.

David Edmark teaches online courses at the University of Arkansas School of Journalism and Strategic Media. He is a retired communications director at the UofA System Division of Agriculture and a longtime local journalist.

1864-1871: The Founding

The first seeds to establish a state university in Arkansas were planted seven years before the campus in Fayetteville opened in 1871. Arkansas had seceded from the Union in 1861 to join the Confederacy, but in 1864 Little Rock was occupied by the Union army. An occupation legislature loyal to the U.S. government approved a measure to accept the provisions of the Morrill Land Grant Act that Congress had enacted in 1862 providing federal land to states. The states could use that land or proceeds from selling the land toward the establishment of colleges offering studies in agriculture and mechanical arts.[1]

Aerial view of the UofA campus in the 1940s. Old Main can be seen in roughly the center of the photograph. Courtesy UofA Libraries Special Collections, William Simeon Campbell Photograph Album and Papers, Box 2, Album 5, page 148.

After the Civil War ended, Congress amended the Morrill Act to allow former Confederate states to accept the law's conditions. Arkansas did so in 1867 but Gov. Issac Murphy's administration was still unable to proceed with starting a college. In 1868 the state passed "An Act Establishing an Industrial University," but again, nothing came of the effort. Finally, in 1871 the legislature passed another law "for the location, organization and maintenance of the Arkansas Industrial University with a normal department therein." The state selected Fayetteville's bid for the university over those from competing cities.[2]

The university Board of Trustees in November 1871 appointed Noah Gates to serve as the first president, a position he held for two years before returning for another two-year stint later that decade.[3] Arkansas Industrial University's first classes convened January 22, 1872, with eight students enrolled. They were William Brooks, Frank Buie, John Carlisle, Cyrus R. Gilbreath, Andrew S. Gregg, Albert W. Gregg, Anna Putman, and Robert Putman. The first class of nine graduates obtained their degrees in 1876: Laura Botefuhr, Emma Bridgeforth, Olive Carson, Lizzie Davis, Belle Gorton, Eva McCart, Charles McKinney, Anna E. Putman, and William J. Waggener.[4]

Arkansas Industrial University kept its name until 1899 when it was renamed the University of Arkansas following a campaign initiated by a student magazine, *The Ozark*.[5]

1875:
Old Main Opens

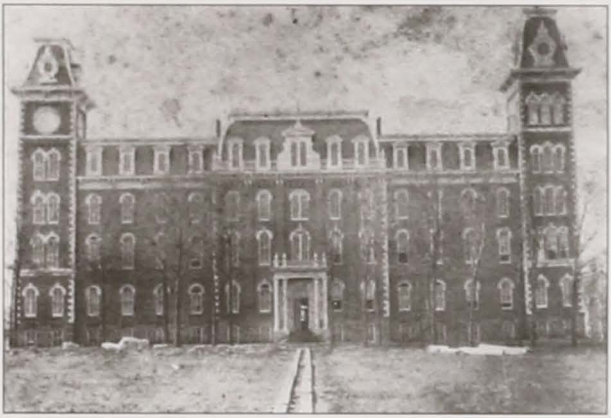
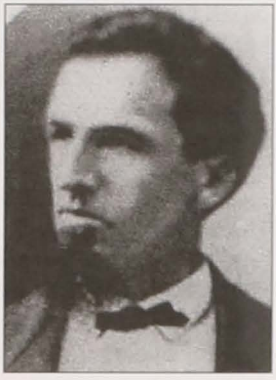


Photo of Old Main taken shortly after construction in the 1870s. Courtesy UofA Libraries Special Collections Picture Collection, Photo No. 1477b.

The building today known as Old Main was listed officially on the books as University Hall from 1895 to 1991. It was known as simply "the University building" when it was completed in 1875. At least 25 American colleges have an "Old Main" building and the University of Illinois structure by that name was the model for the one in Arkansas. On the day the renovated structure was rededicated in 1991, the Board of Trustees approved a resolution officially designating it as Old Main.

The building was completed for a contracted price of $123,385. According to the Fayetteville History website, "Lumber was milled at Peter Van Winkle's mill near the historic War Eagle Mill and hauled to Fayetteville by oxen. Bricks were made from clay deposits on the south side of Fayetteville and fired in the brickyard of John L. Kelton. Cut stone for the exterior trim came from northeast Washington and western Madison counties. And sandstone for the foundation and basement was quarried near the building."[6]

The 1991 rededication was the culmination of a years-long fund-raising drive aimed at restoring the building to its former grandeur. Old Main was closed and surrounded by a chain-link fence during the 1980s because of its deteriorating condition. When the building was reopened it held modern classrooms and the dean's office for the J. William Fulbright College of Arts and Sciences.



(Left) Jobelle Holcombe was the first UofA dean of women, 1907-1911. Holcombe Hall is named for her. Courtesy UofA Libraries Special Collections Picture Collection #404a.
(Right) Noah Putnam Gates, first president of the Arkansas Industrial University. Courtesy UofA Libraries Special Collections Picture Collection #316

Its towers had always been without clocks, an absence that former President Bill Clinton noted during a visit to campus. But the university's Campaign for the Twenty-First Century secured $200,000 in 2005 to add a clock to the south tower.[7]

1879: Medical School Established in Little Rock

Arkansas Industrial University started a Department of Medicine in 1879 in Little Rock in association with the Arkansas Medical Society when eight physicians raised $5,000 for the project. It was first housed in the former Sperindo Restaurant and Hotel in downtown Little Rock and moved to various locations in the city including the Old State House. Later known as the UA Medical Center, it moved to its current Markham Street campus in 1956. It became a separate campus within the UA System and was renamed the University of Arkansas for Medical Sciences in 1980. UAMS opened a Northwest Arkansas campus in Fayetteville in 2009 in facilities vacated by Washington Regional Medical Center at College Avenue and North Street.[8]

1885: Board Dismisses, Replaces Entire Faculty

In 1885, tensions between the state legislature and the university got to the point that legislators ordered a complete reorganization of the campus. So that summer the Board of Trustees complied by dismissing the faculty – every one of them – and replacing them. Only President George Edgar was spared.

Edgar had been president for about a year and was known for issuing numerous regulations and convening a record number of faculty meetings.[9] Problems surfaced in the press with reports of dissent. "The new regulations received merely half-hearted conformance at the hands of some of the professors and were obnoxious to many of the students," wrote John Hugh Reynolds and David Yancey Thomas in their history of the university. Supporters of former President Daniel Hill tended to blame the faculty for his resignation and successfully demanded that the legislature examine problems on campus. Hill had support from the Board of Trustees and state officials but chose to leave office in 1884 amid faculty rancor.

"Our whole purpose was to pass out of the atmosphere of any dissensions that have in the past interfered with the usefulness and purposes of the institution," the board said in a resolution.[10]

1888: Agriculture Studies Launched

As a land-grant institution founded under the Morrill Act, the university was required to provide instruction in agriculture and mechanical

arts. Work in that area began in 1886 when a chemistry professor began "experiments in scientific agriculture and horticulture." The next year Congress passed the Hatch Act funding agricultural experiment stations at land-grant universities. Arkansas Industrial University responded in 1888 by purchasing 423 acres north of Fayetteville to serve as the Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station along what is now Highway 112. The property became commonly known as the Agri Farm. Today it is formally named the Milo J. Shult Research and Extension Center in memory of a longtime UofA System vice president for agriculture.

By 1906 the university's agricultural research had expanded to nine other branch stations around the state. More experiment station sites and diagnostic centers opened statewide in the following decades. The Division of Agriculture was established in 1959 as an entity separate from the Fayetteville campus administration. The Division has remained in charge of the AAES research functions and Cooperative Extension Service activities.[11]

The College of Agriculture was established in 1905, but agricultural education had been offered on campus many years before that in the departments of agriculture, horticulture, agronomy, and chemistry. Few students enrolled in the classes and offerings became sporadic. One of those who enrolled, Hugh Ellis Morrow, in 1904 was the university's first student to earn a bachelor of science in agriculture degree. When the new agriculture college opened the next year it had two professors and six instructors responsible for seven departments. The first Agriculture Building opened in 1905 and still stands today as the Agri Annex. In 1995, the college's expanded academic activity was reflected in its new name, the Dale Bumpers College of Agricultural, Food and Life Sciences –

(Above) Residents of Carnall Hall in 1913, the first women's residence hall on campus. Courtesy UofA Special Collections (no call number).
(Right) Buchanan Hall in a ca. 1919 photo. The first men's residence hall, it was built in 1888 and named for UofA President John L. Buchanan. Courtesy UofA Libraries Special Collections Picture Collection #977a.

named for the former governor and longtime U.S. senator from Arkansas who as chair of the Senate Agricultural Appropriations Subcommittee secured major federal support for the university's agricultural research and educational efforts.[12]

1890s: Law School Started in Little Rock, UofA Later Cuts Ties

The UA School of Law began classes in 1924, after some previous attempts that didn't work out. A law department got under way in 1890 on the Fayetteville campus with seven students but it lasted only a year.

In 1893 the university tried again, but this time in Little Rock. Its first class graduated in 1894 and one of those graduates, John Carmichael, became the school's interim dean in 1898. A power struggle ensued and Carmichael was out as dean but became an assistant dean, then made it back to the top spot when his boss resigned a few months later. The Fayetteville campus cut ties with the Little Rock law school in 1913.[13]

Ten years later, Julian S. Waterman, an economics professor at the Fayetteville campus and a recent law graduate of the University of Chicago, proposed that the university try again to start a department of trial law. He became the department head when its classes began in 1924 with one other faculty member, Claude Pepper, a recent Harvard University law graduate who would go on to become a prominent congressman from Florida. Fourteen full-time and 20 part-time students enrolled in the first class; 10 students comprised the first graduating class in 1927.[14]

Robert Allen Leflar in a photo from 1942 is pictured on a campus sidewalk. Courtesy UofA Libraries Special Collections, Picture Collection #0513.

Robert A. Leflar, a Siloam Springs native who had recently earned his undergraduate degree at the UA, was not among those law graduates. In 1924 he was accepted at Harvard Law School. He told Waterman of his plans to attend Harvard, and Waterman encouraged him to do so.[15] Leflar received his law degree from Harvard in 1927 and accepted an offer from Waterman to join the Arkansas faculty. He remained on the faculty and succeeded Waterman as dean in 1944. During his decade as dean, he oversaw the funding and construction of the law school's new building, Waterman Hall. Leflar remained on the faculty until the 1980s.

He was known nationally as a legal scholar, served as an Arkansas Supreme Court justice, and was twice president of the Arkansas Constitutional Convention. His book, *The First 100 Years: Centennial History of the University of Arkansas*, was published in 1972.[16]

1894: First Intercollegiate Athletics Competition

Students at Arkansas Industrial University in 1893 organized "to foster and encourage the growing interest which is being shown by the student body in the development of the physical man." Competition in football, baseball, tennis, and track and field began the next year. The football team was coached by John Futrall, who would go on to be the university's longest serving president. The football team played three games that initial season, twice beating Fort Smith High School but then suffering a 54-0 defeat on the road at Texas.[17]

In 1894 the student body voted to adopt Cardinal as the university's official color and mascot. When the first yearbook was published in 1897, it also took the Cardinal name. Then in 1909 the football team went undefeated, and Coach Hugo Bezdek declared that his team played "like a wild band of razorback hogs" following its defeat of Louisiana State. The next year the university – now known as the University of Arkansas – changed the mascot from the Cardinal to the Razorback.

Arkansas was a founding member of the Southwest Conference in 1914 and remained there until 1992 when it joined the Southeastern Conference. The football team later played in Razorback Stadium, built in 1938 as a federal Works Progress Administration project. Having been

(Left) The 1896 football team with coach John C. Futrall in bowtie. Courtesy UofA Libraries Special Collections, Picture Collection #2025.

(Right) Frank Broyles, UofA Razorback head football coach (1958-1976), won seven Southwest Conference championships and two Cotton Bowl games. As men's athletic director (1973-2007), he moved Arkansas from the SWC to the Southeastern Conference. Courtesy UofA Special Collections Picture Collection #0098.

(Right) Ruth Cohoon, the first UofA director of women's athletics (1972), consistently fought for increased funding and greater opportunities for women athletes. Courtesy UofA Libraries Special Collections MC 1302 Box 4 folder 2 #15
(Far right) The girls' basketball team with coaches, 1907-08. Courtesy UofA Libraries Special Collections Picture Collection #2339.

enlarged several times, it is now known as Donald W. Reynolds Razorback Stadium. Barnhill Arena was the basketball team's home from 1955 until it was replaced in 1993 by Bud Walton Arena with its 19,200 seats. The Razorbacks won 41 national championships in track and field plus the national titles in football in 1964 and in basketball in 1994.[18]

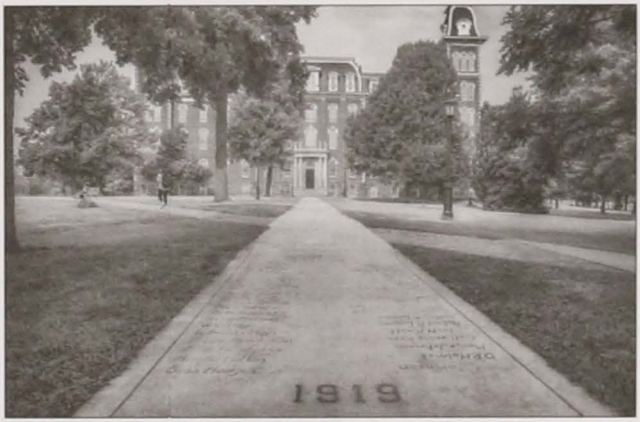
The federal enactment of Title IX in 1972 prohibited discrimination on the basis of sex in educational institutions' programs. That led to an expansion of women's athletics across the nation. At the University of Arkansas, women athletes in the 21st century have received numerous NCAA postgraduate scholarships, been national finalists for NCAA Women of the Year, earned Verizon Academic All-American honors, and received several prestigious postgraduate scholarship awards including the university's first and second SEC H. Boyd McWhorter Scholar-Athlete Awards.[19]

1905: Senior Walk Established on Campus

When the Class of 1905 graduated, its members decided to inscribe their names into a wet slab of concrete. A year later as the 1906 class was doing the same thing, the graduates from 1904 decided they wanted in on the activity too. That started the annual tradition of placing graduates' names in campus sidewalks. In the 1930s, the university went back to the pre-1904 classes to include them on the sidewalks.

During the university's first decades names were stamped by hand into the wet cement. By the 1970s, as the number of graduates increased, that became an arduous process. It was sometimes years after receiving their degrees that a graduating class appeared on the Senior Walk.

Advancements in technology saved the tradition. In 1986 employ-



A contemporary view of Senior Walk leading to Old Main with the roll of 1919 seen in foreground. Photograph by John Baltz.

ees in the university's Physical Plant invented the Sand Hog, a mechanical device that significantly sped up the process of etching names in the sidewalks. Thanks to the Sand Hog, Senior Walk soon caught up with current graduating classes. Spring semester graduates can now expect to see their names in Senior Walk about a year later.[20]

Senior Walk is expanding onto current sidewalks on Arkansas Avenue and then to West Maple Street. "We're getting farther away from the core campus," said Mike Johnson, UA vice chancellor for facilities, in a 2018 interview. But the plan has identified potential locations for future classes' inscriptions to cover the next 30 years. Johnson said future sites under consideration include sidewalks near residence halls at the north end of campus.

By midcentury, a visit to see one's name in the sidewalk could require a hike from the central campus. To help alumni find their names, maps locating classes year by year are available online. The tentative plan calls for the Class of 2055 to be inscribed west of Razorback Road and north of Center Street.[21]

1906: The Campus Newspaper Debuts

For 5 cents a copy or an annual subscription fee of a dollar, a UofA student could buy *The University Weekly*, which began publishing on Oct. 10, 1906. In 1920 the newspaper would change its name to *The Arkansas Traveler*, the moniker it still holds today.

The Weekly was the first student newspaper. Only three of the first year's issues are known to exist. According to Charles Alison's "A History of The Arkansas Traveler" blog:

> *"The University Weekly started as a five-column tabloid-size paper with a column of advertising down the left side of the front page. Front-page stories included addresses by professors, notes from the residence halls, recounts of social receptions and sermons in favor of living virtuous lives. Stories of sporting events, student debates and poetry could be read side by side."*[22]

When the university's history was published in 1910, authors John Hugh Reynolds and David Yancey Thomas were still taking stock of the new newspaper. "The place of '*The Ozark*' (a campus literary magazine that ceased publication several years earlier) can not said to have been taken by the '*University Weekly*,' which was started in 1906," they wrote. "It has made a place for itself by giving gossipy news from week to week and more or less full accounts of important events of university life."[23]

THE UNIVERSITY WEEKLY

The University Weekly, the first student newspaper at the UofA, launched in 1906. Courtesy of UofA Libraries *The Arkansas Traveler* Newspapers, *University Weekly*, January 16, 1907. Vol. 02, No. 16.

An underground newspaper called *X-Ray* hit campus in 1912. The student publishers, known as the Iconoclasts, frequently attacked the faculty and administration, calling them "some of the finest NEGATIVE specimens in captivity." President John Tillman expelled the paper's staff members, an act that led to a campus protest by 600 students. The expelled students were reinstated after the governor led discussions between campus officials and the students.[24]

1930: Chi Omega Greek Theatre Built

The Chi Omega women's fraternity, which was founded at the UA in 1895, built an on-campus replica of a Greek theater in 1930 to honor its five founders. It was modeled after the Dionysus theatre built at the foot of the Acropolis in Athens 2,400 years ago. Its 14 columns represent is founding members. The words "Knowledge," "Integrity," "Courage," "Culture" and "Intelligence" are inscribed around the frieze atop the columns.

The theater has been used for concerts, pep rallies, movies and as a place to relax. A university ROTC firing range was underneath the stage for many years. The theatre's largest crowd is said to be 6,000 who attended an Army Air Corps band concert during World War II. By 1946 it was distinctive enough to merit a color photo in *National Geographic* magazine.[25]

The Chi Omega Greek Theatre (photo ca. 1947-48) was a gift from the organization in 1930 to honor its founding on campus. Courtesy UofA Libraries Special Collections William Simeon Campbell Photograph Albums and Papers, MC 1427.

1940s: World War II and the Postwar Years

The war years dramatically affected life at the university. The majority of the male student population was in uniform as the campus became the site of military training. Camp Neil Martin north of the football stadium housed 600 Army Air Corps trainees. The Army Specialized Training Program housed members at Razorback Hall (now Gibson Hall) for men and the Mary Anne Davis Hall women's cooperative. Other barracks were built around the edge of campus.

The university otherwise tried to offer curriculum as usual. President Arthur Harding wrote, "A full course of instruction – in the arts, the sciences and the professions – was maintained for our civilian students. Wherever necessary, our civilian courses were adjusted to meet the needs of the time, and in all cases the latest scientific, political, economic, and social developments were included in the instruction."

Razorback athletics continued development during the war but personnel changes were common with many athletic staff fulfilling military obligations. Three football coaches came and went from 1942 to 1945. But some stability was on the horizon. John Barnhill was hired in 1945 as the first athletics director and began his duties the next year, also serving as football coach and leading the team to bowl games in 1947 and 1948. The Arkansas field house was renamed in his honor in 1948.[26]

The immediate postwar years and the enactment of the GI Bill brought veterans and their new families to college campuses across the nation. At the UofA, units that had housed soldiers in training during the war converted to serve veterans who had enrolled in the rapidly growing campus. Camp Leroy Pond, Camp Neil Martin, Lloyd Halls, and the Veterans Village quickly became popular residences for the new students home from the war.[27] In 1957, world renowned architect Edward Durrell Stone, a Fayetteville native, designed Carlson Terrace apartments on campus, which primarily served married students. It was torn down in 2007.[28]

1948: First African American Student Admitted to UofA

Silas Herbert Hunt, first African American student admitted to the University. Courtesy UofA Libraries, Geleve Grice Photographs.

The University of Arkansas became the first all-white Southern university since Reconstruction to enroll an African American student when Silas Hunt entered the School of Law in February 1948. (The first African American undergraduate would be admitted in 1955.) Roy Wilkins, administrator of the NAACP, wrote in 1950 that Arkansas was the "very first of the Southern states to accept the new trend without fighting a delaying action or attempting to . . . limit, if not nullify, bare compliance."[29]

Hunt was a native of Ashdown, a graduate of Booker T. Washington High School in Texarkana, and a veteran of World War II. He was drafted into the Army while pursuing undergraduate studies at Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College, a historically Black institution in Pine Bluff. He served in Europe and was severely wounded in the Battle of the Bulge. After the war he returned to college in Pine Bluff and earned a bachelor's degree in English.

University officials decided in January 1948 that they would admit qualified Black students to graduate studies. Robert A. Leflar, dean of the law school, met Hunt when he visited campus the next month, reviewed his academic record, and admitted him to the school.[30]

But segregation was still the order of the day in Arkansas. Leflar described the situation:

> *"Silas Hunt understood this arrangement, and a separate 'colored section' was scheduled for him, in a separate room where he also did his studying. It turned out that he never*

Extra ARKANSAS TRAVELER Extra
UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

Negro Enrolls in University Law School

Arkansas' AMAN Grad—Combat Vet—Accepted

Students Voice Opinions on Admittance of Negro Students

Arkansas Traveler page one coverage of the admission of Hunt to the UofA. Courtesy UofA Libraries. *Arkansas Traveler*, February 3, 1948.

met a class altogether by himself; always there were other students who sought the advantages of sitting in a class with only four or five persons, one a studious black man, rather than in a much larger and less intensive group."[31]

Hunt's law school career ended too soon for him to earn his degree. He fell ill from his battlefield injuries and died from tuberculosis in April 1949. The university built a new facility for the admissions and registrar's offices in 1993 and named it for Hunt. The UofA School of Law awarded him a posthumous degree in 2008. The Silas Hunt Memorial Sculpture near Old Main was unveiled in 2012.[32]

1950: Edward Durrell Stone Designs Fine Arts Center

(Top) Edward Durrell Stone. Courtesy UofA Libraries Special Collections Picture Collection #820.
(Below) An undated photo of the Fine Arts Center taken from the northwest of the Sculpture Court. The theatre dominates the picture. Courtesy UofA Libraries Special Collections Picture Collection #1103

Fayetteville native Edward Durell Stone was famous worldwide in the 1960s as the architect who designed the John F. Kennedy Center for Performing Arts in Washington, the Museum of Modern Art in New York, Busch Memorial Stadium in St. Louis, and the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi. In 1950 he was already prominent among architects in New York when he was retained by the University of Arkansas to design a fine arts center on the campus where he had studied.

Its opening marked the first time any university had housed its various arts programs under one roof. The art, architecture, and music departments occupied the building with the university theater and concert hall. Stone's structure included a series of eight mobiles by the medium's inventor, sculptor Alexander Calder. According to the Fine Arts Center's website, "The Calder mobiles were intended to hang under a unique 'mesh ceiling' in the Concert Hall, above wall sconces at either side of the room. They were designated as 'light fixtures' to make sure that they were not excluded as an 'alternate deductible' in the project."[33]

The center made its debut in November 1950 with a production of the play *Acres of Sky*, adapted from a novel by Fayetteville native Charles Morrow Wilson. George Freedley, a drama critic from the *New York Morning*

Telegraph, praised not only the play but also the venue. He wrote that the center provided "the first glimpse we've had of a revolutionary concept of teaching and presenting the fine arts in a center of their own."[34]

Later the center was featured in a two-page spread in *Life* magazine with six color photos. "By 1950 the pleased and startled citizens of Arkansas discovered they had the handsomest art center in America," *Life* said. "The percentage of the university's students enrolled in art courses doubled, the art staff tripled, funds for maintaining the art departments increased more than fivefold. People from all over the state came to the exhibitions, plays, and concerts; and, clearly influenced by the new center, 14 modern homes and buildings, including a Lutheran church, sprouted in Fayetteville almost overnight."[35]

1980: University of Arkansas Press Established

Projects don't always move quickly on a college campus but when they finally start moving they can take off at high speed. The idea of a university press was proposed by English professors Ben Kimpel and Duncan Eaves in 1951. By 1970 Eaves chaired a university committee to explore establishing a press. It took another 10 years to become reality but in 1980 the UA System Board of Trustees with the endorsement of President James E. Martin established the University of Arkansas Press.

Its first leaders were Miller Williams, an English professor who served as director, and Willard Gatewood, a history professor who was chair of the press committee. Williams and Gatewood had approached Martin with their plan for the press, which included the restoration of McIlroy House as the press offices. The press is still there today.

Gatewood was also a co-editor with Timothy Donovan of the first book published by the press, *The Governors of Arkansas* in 1981.

The press began cautiously. For its first five years, the Arkansas press with its director and faculty committee was the acquisitions office that forwarded authors' approved manuscripts to the long-established University of Missouri Press for the editing, designing, production, and distribution of books. The University of Arkansas Press had three titles to its credit at the end of 1981 and five more in 1982. It became a full member of the American Association of University Presses in 1984 and by 1985 it was on its own as an independent press operation.[36]

In 2020 the press celebrated its 40th anniversary with about 700 titles to its credit.

"Our existence – never a guarantee for any university press – is made possible because of regard from the scholarly and general, the local and national, the business community and consumer public," the press said in an anniversary statement. "Poetry, literature, and the history and culture of Arkansas and the region remain a focus, in addition to art and architecture, African American studies, sport studies, and food studies."[37]

1987: World Record Set for Superconductivity

The world learned on Aug. 28, 1987, what a couple of professors in the UofA physics department had been pursuing. Zhengzhi Sheng and Allen Hermann revealed they had manufactured a new material that set the world record high temperature for a superconducting material.[38] Superconductivity is a process by which direct current electricity can flow perpetually. The two scientists discovered a Thallium-based material that held the world's record for high temperature of 125 Kelvin. During the late 1980s and early 1990s, their work led to several patents and a manufacturing agreement.[39]

The New York Times described the discovery as a way to make the superconducting materials in bulk by melting their ingredients and quoted the scientists as saying the process would facilitate an easier way to make wires and other superconductors. Until then, laboratories made superconductors by heating the powders without melting them, a process called sintering. "Nobody's going to be working with these sintered materials any more," Hermann told the *Times*. "In the long run, it's going to affect the manufacturability of these materials quite significantly."[40]

1996: UATV Signs On

The UofA's first student-run television station signed on the air in the fall semester of 1996 in Kimpel Hall. The station, known as UATV, started and remains as a student media opportunity for students in the School of Journalism and Strategic Media. In its early years it was available to cable television subscribers in Fayetteville and a few years later also in Springdale. By 2010 the region's cable provider, Cox Communications, made the station available throughout northwest Arkansas.[41]

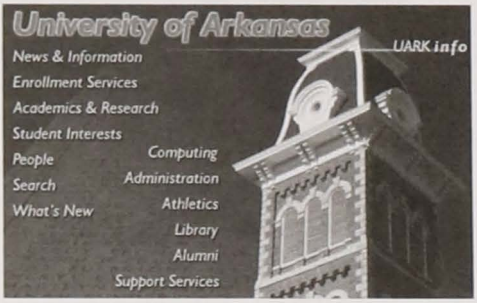
The station was created to serve the school's broadcast journalism curriculum by offering hands-on experience at a station with programming throughout the day using current broadcast standard equipment. It began with regular programming produced through journalism classes featuring campus news such as "Arkansas on Campus" and "On the Hill." The first student-produced program outside of a class-required project was "The Sports Advantage," a regular summary of Razorback athletics activity. Students then initiated a nightly broadcast at 9 p.m. called "Nine at Nine," a nine-minute newscast.[42]

The station was housed in a small area of Kimpel Hall until 2018 when it moved upstairs into a new studio and control center with the anchor desk in front of plate glass windows providing a live view of the campus outside the building. The facility is part of the Sue Walk Burnett

Journalism and Student Media Center, an expansion and renovation of the journalism school's facilities that was completed with the support of a $1 million gift from journalism alumna Sue Walk Burnett and her husband, Rusty.[43]

1997: UofA Joins the World Wide Web

The first University of Arkansas campuswide website debuted in February 1997 with a home page containing links to news and information roundups, enrollment services, athletics and more. This represented the first attempt to bring several campus websites into one central linking point. The archive in the What's New category shows web pages and announcements for different units dating back to July 1995.[44]



A screenshot of the homepage on the UofA's first website. It can still be found archived at https://web.archive.org/web/19970202112753/http://www.uark.edu/. Links on the site are active and go to 1997 pages. The site was last updated on April 16, 1997.

Athough university units and offices began creating World Wide Web pages in the 1990s, the campus had been connected to the internet since 1987. That was when the new campus computing services director, Robert Zimmerman, went to work with colleagues Craig Brown, Dennis Brewer, and David Merrifield implementing a grant from the National Science Foundation to build the state's first internet connection. They accomplished it with one computer work station connected online at 64 kilobits per second, a frustratingly slow pace by today's standard. By 1991, Zimmerman was setting up ARKnet, a statewide computer network of Arkansas colleges and universities.[45]

The campus work linking to the internet coincided with Tim Berners-Lee's development of the World Wide Web in 1989 and the release of browsers for general use in 1992.[46] By the mid-1990s, campus units were uploading their own pages onto the web. The pages were often lacking in photos or graphic arts and were usually just short text with a few links.

2005: $1 Billion Raised in Campaign for the Twenty-First Century

Not long after taking office as UA chancellor in 1997, John A. White addressed a faculty meeting about his goals for the campus. Among other things, he had a goal for the university's endowment, which was then in

the hundreds of millions of dollars. Just move the decimal point over one place to the right, White said, and then the UofA will have at least a billion-dollar endowment.

That plan took some years to achieve but it was accomplished. The university launched the Campaign for the Twenty-First Century in 1998 with the goal of raising $500 million.[47] The campaign began that year with a quiet phase that went public in 2001 and soon reported a $300 million gift from the Walton Family Charitable Support Foundation, the largest gift on record to a U.S. public education institution.[48] The campaign far exceeded its initial expectations and by April 2005 it had reached $904 million. The campaign leadership that month voted to go for a full $1 billion by June 30.[49]

The campaign surpassed the billion-dollar mark by June 22 and closed at the end of the month with $1.046 billion in gifts. "Outcomes of the Campaign for the Twenty-First Century include the creation of the Honors College and endowments for the library and Graduate School, 132 endowed faculty chairs and professorships, and 1,738 scholarships and fellowships," according to a UofA news release. "More than 41,600 new donors participated in the campaign, and the total number of individuals who contributed reached 72,641. In sum, benefactors made 304,328 gifts and pledges to the campaign.[50]

The campaign's results continued to reverberate for years to come. By January 2020, the university endowment had reached $1.22 billion with a market value that had increased 80 percent in the past 10 years because of continued large gifts to the university and returns on the assets' investments.[51] By then, a second major capital drive called Campaign Arkansas was in the final stage. That eight-year effort concluded with an announcement in August 2020 that it had raised nearly $1.45 billion for student scholarships and academic programs, faculty and staff support, capital improvements, and other initiatives.[52]

2015: Faulkner Performing Arts Center Opens

After decades of use as the men's gymnasium and the university museum, the old field house on Garland Avenue next to the Arkansas Union was ready for its next big makeover. The facility that was built in 1937 was targeted to house a new performing arts center for the campus.

The Board of Trustees named the renovated building the Jim and Joyce Faulkner Performing Arts Center in honor of the Little Rock couple who donated $6 million toward its $18 million construction cost. The redo of the building resulted in a theater with seating capacity exceeding 650 providing a venue for the University Symphony Orchestra, Concert Band, Wind Symphony, Symphonic Band, Jazz Band, Schola Cantorum, Concert Choir, and Master Chorale. Theatrical performances would be staged by the University Opera, Music Theatre, Shakespeare Theatre,

Faulkner Performing Arts Center. Photo by Russell Cothren. Courtesy UofA University Relations.

and Boars Head Summer Theatre. Musical and theatrical productions had been presented in the Fine Arts Center with venues that could hold more than 250 people.

Following the new center's opening in September 2015, it was expected to host about 200 events a year.[53]

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WCHS 2021 Announces Washington County History Writing Competition

The Washington County Historical Society invites submissions for the 12th annual writing competition for the Walter J. Lemke Prize and the Lessie Stringfellow Read Prize. Winners will receive $250.

Topics can address any aspect of Washington County history. The competition is open to both professional and amateur historians.

The Walter J. Lemke Prize - best article on Washington County history; preference given to subjects outside Fayetteville.

The Lessise Stringfellow Read Prize - best article about Fayetteville.

Submissions are judged on contributions to knowledge about county history, originality of subject, and use of primary and secondary sources. They must be original material, not previously published; typed; include endnotes; and have a length of 2,000-4,000 words. The title page should be headed: "WCHS Prize," followed by the submission's full title, the author's name, mailing address, phone number, and email. Deadline is June 30, 2021. Submit to Patsy G. Watkins: email (pwatkins@uark.edu), or mail (Lemke Prize, Washington County Historical Society, 118 E. Dickson Street, Fayetteville, Arkansas 72701. Contact Watkins with any questions.

Washington County Historical Society Marks Seven Decades

Founded on February 18, 1951

By Maylon Rice

The Washington County Historical Society turned 70 on February 18, 2021, marking the 1951 gathering that resulted in the founding of the organization. Publication of the first issue of *Flashback*, edited by Walter J. Lemke, followed soon after in March.

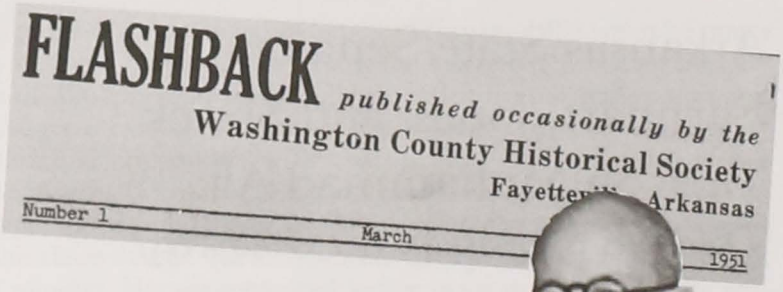
Lessie Stringfellow Read chaired the group that met that Sunday afternoon at the student center of the Lutheran Church (located at corner of Dickson and Arkansas Avenue). Lemke served as secretary.

In Vol. 1, No. 1 of *Flashback*, Lemke described the meeting. The agenda included a trio of well-known speakers who related facts and recalled memories about county history, and an exhibit of old Fayetteville photographs, loaned by Lemke himself. But the main order of business was the organization of the historical society. Lemke showed a 1951 Membership Card – a souvenir card – bearing a map of old Lovely County (1827) and the present Washington County configuration. Those present agreed to solicit $2 memberships until March 1, at which time the charter members would name permanent officers for the society.

Those desiring to become members of the WCHS were to send the $2 membership to Lessie S. Reed or W. J. Lemke. "Any resident of Washington County who is interested in our county's romantic history is eligible, of course," Lemke wrote in *Flashback*.

He continued: "We are also anxious to enroll the many former residents of Washington County who now live elsewhere. Send your check, join us in this good work, and we'll keep you posted on the Society's activities."

Maylon Rice is past president of the Washington County Historical Society; he was WCHS president 2017-2019 and currently serves on the Property Management Committee which oversees maintenance of Headquarters House.


FLASHBACK published occasionally by the
Washington County Historical Society
Fayette Arkansas
Number 1 March 1951

The first issue of *Flashback* was nine typewritten, 8- by10-inch pages, run off on a mimeograph machine with a pre-printed first page "flag" proclaiming "*Flashback*, published occasionally by the Washington County Historical Society Fayetteville, Arkansas."

The content covered a wide range of subjects, especially highlighting the monthly meetings of the society. The group was to go on a walking tour of Evergreen Cemetery – which had to be cancelled because of a rainstorm.

Also, Lemke recalled seeing his first television program in Fayetteville. His personal reflection of that night was called "Television Comes To Me in an Ante-Bellum Setting." Lemke was visiting the home of Mr. and Mrs. P. R. Green at 118 East Dickson Street (now known as Headquarters House, the location of the WCHS office and the former 1853 home of Mr. and Mrs. Jonas Tibbets). Lemke said the "television set's reception was perfect and the entertainment – a Gay '90s show by Fred Waring and troupe – was delightful."

In closing, Lemke wrote: "Fred Waring's glee club was singing 'The Rosary.' I looked over my shoulder in the darkened room. I wouldn't have been too surprised to see Colonel M. LaRue Harrison, black-bearded and stern. But it wasn't an officer in Blue who sat behind me; it was my genial host, P. R. Green. At this feet lay the big Dalmatian, covering his eyes with a paw, to hide the great technological marvel of the 1950's."

"Television came to me in an 1863 setting."

Arkansas State Senators Earnhart, Jones, and Sprick Take on Muhammad Ali:
The UofA Symposium '69 Controversy

By Dan Durning

In early 1969, a small but heated controversy arose over the scheduled appearance of Muhammad Ali – also widely known at the time as Cassius Clay – as a speaker at the University of Arkansas Symposium '69, a student-led lecture series on the campus. The kerfuffle stirred some emotions and was entertaining, but it passed by quickly. Its main significance was the evidence it provided of a transformation underway at the university that included a growing commitment to academic freedom.

The controversy started soon after a newspaper story on February 13, 1969, announced the lineup of Symposium '69 speakers.[1] The list included six U.S. senators, an NBC journalist, and a NASA scientist, plus civil rights activist Floyd McKissick and Ali, the former heavyweight champion, both of whom were scheduled to speak at the March 12 session of the Symposium. The story noted, "The project has no official sanction from the University."

Ali was available to speak at the UofA because he was no longer allowed to fight professionally and was making a living by lecturing on college campuses. He told a Little Rock reporter that he was scheduled to lecture at 64 universities in 1969, including Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Notre Dame.[2]

Dan Durning, a Fayetteville native, was a student at the University of Arkansas from 1965 to 1971. A retired University of Georgia faculty member, he lives in Birch Bay, Washington.

The pugilist had exploded to fame in February 1964 when he unexpectedly defeated Sonny Liston to win the heavyweight boxing title. By the start of 1967, he had successfully defended his title eight times and had a 29-0 record as a professional boxer. Nevertheless, the World Boxing Association had stripped him of the title in April 1967 when he refused induction into the U.S. Army, and it had effectively stopped his professional prizefighting career.[3] In June 1967, Ali was convicted of draft evasion despite his claim that he was a conscientious objector and a draft-exempt Muslim minister. He was sentenced to five years in prison, but the sentence was deferred as he appealed the verdict.[4] The conviction would be overturned in 1971 by the U.S. Supreme Court.[5]

When Ali won the world heavyweight championship in 1964, he bore his birth name, Cassius Marcellus Clay Jr. Soon after winning the title, he joined the Nation of Islam and changed his name to Muhammad Ali. Nevertheless, many newspapers continued in 1969 to refer to him in their stories as Cassius Clay.

The Dispute Arises. Opposition to Ali's planned speech at the UofA surfaced in articles published on February 20 in the *Arkansas Democrat* and on February 21 in the *Arkansas Gazette*.[6] These articles described an exchange of letters by the Pulaski [County] Businessmen's Association and UofA president David Mullins. The association's letter said that its members had voted unanimously to state that it "intensely disapproves" Ali's appearance on the UofA campus, and it asked Mullins to "take immediate action to prevent Clay or any un-American activity to reach our campus." Mullins responded by refusing the request, writing that "previous experience with Symposium speakers has indicated the capacity of students to evaluate and place in proper perspective the expressions and viewpoints of any speaker...." He continued, "The presentation of divergent viewpoints is one of the recognized functions of the university."

Another article in the *Gazette* on February 21 reported that several leaders of Black and civil rights groups in Pulaski County had criticized the association's resolution. Their joint statement said, "We are aware of racism in the state, but are appalled at the open gesture of the Pulaski Businessmen's Association." One leader was quoted as saying, "We feel that Clay has every right to speak at our university."[7]

The following day, February 22, a *Gazette* editorial lambasted the association's letter while denigrating Ali. It suggested that Ali had much in common with George Wallace in that both "have big mouths, are ex-boxers, and both are radicals, each in his own way even if Ali is essentially a comic figure while Wallace is inherently an evil, malevolent man." The editorial suggested that exposure to such figures as Ali and Wallace "is a consequential help in getting a solid education."[8]

Elsewhere in that day's newspaper, a story told of the criticisms of the association's letter by the Arkansas Chapter of American Civil Liber-

ties Union. Its statement lamented that "the Little Rock businessmen do not understand the concept of free speech in a free society and that the freedom of all men is best served by insisting on full respect for the First Amendment."[9]

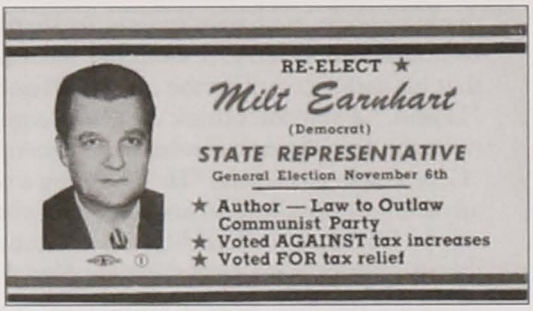
THE ARKANSAS STATE SENATE ACTS. The matter did not end with the exchange of letters and opinions. On February 25, ultra-conservative state Senator Gerald Milton "Milt" Earnhart of Fort Smith introduced a resolution in the Arkansas Senate to condemn Ali's upcoming appearance at the university. Earnhart, putatively the state's first television weatherman and later a part-time news broadcaster, had been elected to the state House of Representatives in 1958 and served in that body until his election to the state Senate in 1966.[10]

Perhaps Earnhart thought his resolution would be non-controversial as such anti-communist actions had been in the past. Although he was not among Gov. Orval Faubus's ardent supporters, he had joined them frequently to battle the specter of communism.[11] They, like other defenders of segregation in the South, blamed communists for the civil rights movement.[12] Earnhart had contributed to their anti-integration, anti-communist crusade by authoring a statute in 1961 to outlaw the Communist Party in Arkansas. When the bill came before the House and the speaker asked if anyone wanted to say anything against it, "there was laughter."[13] Earnhart's proposed law passed by a vote of 95 to 0.

The vote was again unanimous, 31-0, when, earlier in the 1969 session, the state Senate had approved a resolution suggesting that the Arkansas Peace Information Center, a small storefront organization operated by a few draft resisters on a meager budget, was a possible "communist-front organization."[14] The sponsor and chief proponent of the resolution was Sen. Dan T. Sprick, a businessman and former Little Rock mayor. Sprick had been elected to the state Senate in 1960 as an opponent of school integration, and he had zealously contributed to efforts to prove links between communists and the civil rights movement.[15] As the Vietnam War escalated, he had expanded his anti-communist activities to proving that war protesters were communists. Sprick had been a strong supporter of Gov. Faubus during his administration.

The *Gazette* greeted Sprick's resolution with an editorial calling him "a specialist in legislative foolishness." It expressed the view that "he has a long legislative history of damning as 'Communist' or 'Communist-inspired' anything that he may disagree with or that may disagree with him…though he is a most disagreeable-with person as well as a disagreeable person."[16] Sprick responded by calling the editorial writer "scum." He also suggested that dissidents who do not protest in the "right way" are "long-haired, good-for-nothing, yellow-bellied skunks."[17]

When Earnhart introduced his resolution, it – unlike Sprick's – was not unanimously adopted. Instead, when it arrived on the Senate floor on



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Conway County North of the Arkansas River, all of Van Buren and Faulkner Counties
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Images courtesy of Dan Durning

Friday, February 28, it sparked a debate that the *Gazette* called "one of the lustiest oratorical exhibitions of the session."[18] Arguments for the resolution were made by Senators Earnhart and Sprick, and they were assisted by one of the best-known Old Guard leaders, Guy Hamilton "Mutt" Jones of Conway, who had stood with Faubus and joined his red baiting from its beginning in 1957. In addition, Sen. Melvin T. Chambers of Magnolia, an Old Guard ally, added his voice for the resolution. Sen. Earnhart began the debate by objecting to Ali's UofA appearance because he was a draft dodger and had nothing of value to tell students. The debate was then turned over to Senators Sprick and Jones, who were, a *Gazette* editorial observed, "more practiced than Earnhart when it comes to waving the flag or dragging out the red herrings or talking nonsense generally."[19]

After hearing arguments for the resolution, Sen. W. D. Moore of El Dorado, a former schoolteacher and union organizer, stood up to contend that it went against the concept of free speech. He told the Senate: "I detest Cassius Clay as an individual...but students have the right to expose themselves to Clay's thought." He said it was wrong to graduate students from the UofA without allowing them to hear both sides of questions. He asserted that the Senate would be doing an injustice if it caused the cancellation of Clay's speech.

Senators Jones and Sprick responded to Moore's statement with "stormy anti-Communist speeches." Included in Jones' speech was his assertion that "students should not be exposed to alien thought such as Ali's before they had ample doses of patriotism." During the colloquy that followed, Moore posed a question to Sprick: "Are you saying indoctrination by Russia is wrong but that indoctrination by the University of Arkansas would be right?" The exchange continued as follows: "'Are we indoctrinating them?' Sprick asked. 'You are not letting them hear the other side,' Moore said and Sprick replied that there was only one side. 'You've answered my question,' Moore said. 'There is no side but yours.'"[20]

In his presentation, 66-year-old Sen. Sprick announced that he was

ready to go immediately to fight in Vietnam if President Richard Nixon summoned him, and "I wouldn't have a hunger strike." Moore replied that he had two sons in the armed services and a third in officer training. He said, "They don't think they have a patent on patriotism." Later in his remarks, Sen. Sprick condemned UofA president Mullins for approving "Clay's" speech, saying, "He's running a college up there and doesn't have anything to say about it, and he's mealy mouthed anyway."[21]

In addition to Sen. Moore, two other state senators spoke against the resolution. One was the only Republican in the state Senate, Sen. Jim Caldwell of Rogers, a Church of Christ minister who had previously headed a campus ministry for UofA students. Elected to the office in 1968, he was the first Republican to serve in the state Senate since the Reconstruction era.[22] The other was Sen. Clifton Wade of Fayetteville, who represented the county in which the UofA is located. He was challenged by Sen. Chambers, who asked Wade if he realized that riots always follow such college appearances. Wade said that assertion was incorrect.[23]

The vote on Earnhart's resolution was far from unanimous: The *Gazette* noted that "if the resolution passed... it did so on a nebulous voice vote in which strong opposition was recorded."[24] In any case, the presiding officer, Lt. Gov. Maurice "Footsie" Britt, a Republican, ruled that it received a majority of the votes. The 35-member state Senate that enacted the resolution had one female and no Black members. Thirty-three state senators were white, male Democrats, including two "Mutts," a "Chubby," a "Deacon," and a "Buddy."

A *Gazette* editorial praised the debate for showing "that some senators have grown weary of putting the Senate's stamp on every demagogic declaration that one of their number may introduce, whether out of its own ignorance or simply in a play to the peanut gallery." It continued:

> *Senators Moore, Wade, and Caldwell argued this most elemental case for academic freedom beautifully. About all we would add is to remark anew the strange sense of insecurity that moves members of the legislature to oppose letting students hear someone like Cassius Clay. What on earth or in heaven are they afraid of?* [25]

THE CONTROVERSY SMOLDERS. In the nearly two weeks between the state Senate resolution and Ali's speech, various opponents and supporters expressed their views of his scheduled appearance on the UofA campus. The primary foes were veterans' organizations. They included the Arkansas chapter of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, which urged Mullins to cancel Ali's invitation and asked Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller to support its position (he did not). Its resolution noted that it had "recognized that some of the professors and students in our schools and colleges are actively engaged in such un-American activities as Communism, the 'New Left', and others."[26] American Legion Post 334 in Pulaski County also passed a resolution against allowing Ali's speech.[27] In addition, the M.

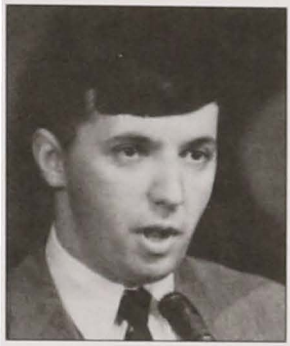
M. Eberts Post 1 of the American Legion went on record opposing the speech and condemning its "approval by University of Arkansas Officials." Also, it voted to ask the legislature to prohibit the use of public funds and facilities for public appearances of convicted felons.[28] Likely, other veterans' groups enacted similar resolutions that were not reported in major daily papers.

Many voices supported allowing Ali to speak at the UofA. On March 4, the Arkansas House of Representatives, in which Young Turks outnumbered the Old Guard, passed a resolution commending state colleges and universities for allowing controversial speakers to appear on their campuses.[29] Also, major papers in addition to the *Gazette* backed the right of UofA students to hear Ali's speech. The *Democrat* observed, "Here we go again, trying to censor out rather than out-think people we don't agree with. The very essence of a university is to serve as a platform for ideas of every kind – good and bad – new and old."[30] A columnist for the *Northwest Arkansas Times* wrote that the "major item of significance in the recent flap about Cassius Clay's appearance" was "the prompt and forthright manner in which Pres. David Mullins backed the student's right to invite and hear a controversial speaker."[31] *The Pine Bluff Commercial* agreed that Mullins had "acted like the president of an institution dedicated to free inquiry last week, when he refused to be bullied into cancelling the appearance of Muhammed Ali (nee Cassius Clay) at the university."[32]

A few letters in the *Gazette, Democrat,* and *Arkansas Traveler* (UofA's student paper) supported Ali's planned speech, criticizing the Pulaski Businessmen's Association and the state Senate for their actions. A letter against Ali's speech came from Col. John N. Warnock, UofA Class of '35, a notorious segregationist, who wrote, "One wonders what is taking place around 'Old Main.' It seems as though the 'kooks' are taking control there too, and if this be so, maybe it is best to move it to Little Rock, next to the Editorial Office of the *Arkansas Gazette*, so that the memory of a great institution which has flourished in Fayetteville for almost a hundred years will not be tarnished."[33] Another angry letter writer chimed in, "Some of those wide-eyed students and others claim it is their right to hear whom they choose to listen to. Right, but not in a school provided by the taxpayers. I was told by a friend of mine, a state representative, that the U. of A. had a decided 'pink' atmosphere, if you know what I mean."[34]

What did most Arkansans think about the Symposium controversy, if they thought about it at all? No surveys addressed that question. However, one thing was evident: no strong surge of public sentiment arose against the speech. It did not become a *cause célèbre* for the remnants of the anti-integration and anti-communist coalition that had been fearsome in the first half of the 1960s.

A few days after the Senate resolution passed, one minor peripheral event occurred that I mention because I took part in it. A few smart aleck members of the "executive committee" of the UofA Young Republican



George Lease, UofA student government president. Courtesy UofA Libraries Special Collections University of Arkansas Yearbooks, *Razorback*, 1969, p. 172.

Club (including me) stirred the Ali pot by issuing a couple of resolutions. One of them condemned attempts to stop Ali from coming to the UofA as "intolerant, misguided paternalism" and the second resolution read:

> *Whereas, State Sen. Dan T. Sprick stated on Feb. 28, 1969 that he was willing to go to Vietnam to fight immediately if President Richard Nixon summoned him; and Whereas, such a journey by Sen. Sprick would immediately improve Arkansas and could not hurt Vietnam; Be It Therefore Resolved: The U of A YRC urgently requests that President Nixon immediately ask Senator Sprick to go to Vietnam; And Be It Further Resolved: The Young Republican Club requests Private Sprick to invite Sen. Mutt Jones, Sen. Milt Earnhart, and Sen. Melvin Chambers to join him on this trip.*

The culprits responsible for these resolutions were pleased when they were featured in stories published in the *Gazette* and on the front page of the *Traveler*.[35] The campus Young Democrats Club also weighed in against the state Senate's anti-Ali resolution. Its members adopted a declaration stating that it was "appalled and extremely disgusted by the remarks of Senators Earnhart, Jones, and Sprick" about the matter.[36]

The Ali controversy gained more visibility on the UofA campus on March 12, the day of the speech, when two long letters about it were published in the *Traveler*.[37] Senator Earnhart had sent one letter a few days earlier in response to one he had received from a group of UofA students from Fort Smith who opposed his anti-Ali resolution. Earnhart had addressed his reply to George Lease, the president of UofA's student government, who grew up in Fort Smith, even though Lease had not signed the letter. In it, Earnhart suggested that communists were behind "Clay" and his actions. He wrote: "We are at a point now where we must fight Communism everywhere it is detected, and if you believe a character like Clay is not encouraged by Communists, you would be more naive than I believe you are!" He asserted the issue was not about "freedom of speech," but about good taste.

Lease responded to Earnhart by rebuking him for sending a copy of his letter to Lease's ailing mother even though he was 22 years old and self-supporting. He asked Earnhart if he mailed copies of letters to the parents of everyone with whom he corresponded. Lease ignored Earnhart's provocations and instead invited him to speak, along with other state senators, at a special session of Symposium '69.

THE DEED IS DONE. Muhammad Ali and Floyd McKissick made their speeches on the evening of March 12 to about 4,000 people, in-

cluding several hundred Blacks, who crowded into the Barnhill Fieldhouse.[38] (At the time, the UofA enrolled about 11,000 students.) The two speakers attracted the largest attendance at a Symposium '69 event.

In his speech, Ali discussed Nation of Islam doctrine, strongly advocating non-violence and the separation of the races. He told the students, "...[B]y nature the two races cannot live together. People, like animals, like to stick together." He explained that the Nation of Islam wants "full and complete freedom to establish a separate state or territory on this continent or elsewhere....The land, which must be fertile and minerally rich, should be supplied by the former slave owners of the United States – the white people." The former slave owners were also obliged to financially support the new state during the first years of its founding. If these things did not happen within a few years, Ali said, God (Allah) "would destroy the nation with natural disasters."[39]

Symposium '69 Special

Tickets On Sale In SU For Admission To Talks

ARKANSAS TRAVELER

City Defies Public Opinion

Ex-Champ Called Black Muslim

Senator Murkie Concerned With Urban Problems, Considered Imaginative, Diligent Politician

Senator Charles Percy, GOP's Golden Boy, Seen By Public As 'Too' Good To Be True'

The Arkansas Traveler, UofA student newspaper, promoted the symposium with a special issue. Courtesy UofA Libraries Special Collections *The Arkansas Traveler* Newspapers, January 31, 1969, Vol. 63, No. 70, p. 1.

In addition to having good things to say about Gov. George Wallace and his segregationist views, Ali said he had respect for whites in the South who lynched "Negroes" who had bothered their women. He pleaded with "Negroes" to protect "Negro women."[40] A *Gazette* editorial commented on Ali's speech:

> *When the speaker was not advocating separation of the races, he was praising George Wallace to the skies, both of which stands seem to accord with the plurality of voting opinion in the state. One wonders again what the advanced fuss was all about.*[41]

(In the presidential election held a few months earlier, in November 1968, a plurality of Arkansans had voted to award the state's electoral votes to Wallace.)

McKissick, who had been director of the Congress of Racial Equality, gave a heated speech that focused on the history of racism in the United States, which he called a "sick society." He urged the use of black power to overcome the sickness.[42]

INTO THE LION'S DEN. A week after the speeches, three state senators and one state representative came to the UofA to take part in a spe-

cial Symposium '69 presentation. The speakers were Senators Earnhart, Jones, and Caldwell, plus Rep. Herbert Rule III. Rule was a young Little Rock lawyer who had sponsored the state House of Representatives' resolution commending universities that hosted controversial speakers. He had attended Yale University as an undergraduate and, after serving in the Marines, had graduated from the UofA Law School in 1964. Rep. Rule had won his seat in the state House in 1966.[43]

The four speakers put on a good show for the 300 or so students who showed up to hear them, according to Allan Gilbert Jr., a columnist for the *Northwest Arkansas Times*. He enthused, "our legislators put the Clay/McKissick act way in the shade. No comparison, either in content or drama." He continued, "[T]rue art it was. [All four of the speakers] put on a display. Each I should add in his own fashion. The contrast in styles among the four legislators was as vivid and arresting as the contrast in their mental machinations."[44]

Sen. Earnhart spoke first. According to Gilbert, his style was "utter simpliciticism [sic] and righteousness." The senator suggested that students "talk to some of the people in your hometowns and see the reaction of these people who support this university, who are paying taxes... and then see it paid over to a draft dodger." He continued, "This is not a matter of questions of free speech or race." He asked, "What are you trying to do? Are you trying to disturb your parents and the people of Arkansas?" He concluded, "Well, you are."[45] According to Gilbert, Earnhart scolded the university student body for not living up to the standards of the UofA football team. His talk elicited plenty of headshakes, a few chuckles, and polite applause.

Sen. "Mutt" Jones, wearing a red tie, handkerchief, boutonniere, and boots, engaged at times in heated oratory. He was a 1932 graduate of Hendrix College and a lawyer who had been in state politics since his election in 1946 to the state Senate. He had sought the Democratic Party's nomination for governor in 1954 but lost to Faubus. Soon thereafter, he had joined Faubus's team and became one of his leading supporters. Jones served nearly 24 years in the state Senate where he was, according to journalist Ernest Dumas, "the legislature's most compelling orator and also its most partisan, craftiest, and – some said – most vengeful member."[46] Jones became the face of the state's Old Guard after Rep. Paul Van Dalsem lost the 1966 election.

Jones told the audience, "You don't have a single right that wasn't bought with blood. The right to distribute scandalous criticisms was bought with blood."[47] Then, Jones linked Ali to communism and continued, "The Chinese say they are going to take over the world and the Russians say they are going to take us from within. They say they are going to do it through college students and through professors." He also told the audience that if there is a last citadel of Christianity, it is this country. He asserted that no power on earth can stop the spread of communism except the

United States government. His speech elicited a few cheers and some jeers.[48]

Sen. Caldwell gave a sermon-like speech that quieted the audience. Gilbert observed that Caldwell was a "vigorous speaker and an articulate one. His talk was well prepared and set a commendably temperate tone of the evening debate."[49] In it, he said that he was happy that Ali came to the UofA. He explained, "I don't agree with him, but he should be heard." Besides, he laughingly remarked, "if it hadn't been for Clay, you [students] wouldn't have had the chance to hear the Honorable Mutt Jones." He concluded with the observation that "no man is free when he is a slave of this own thinking."[50] He received a nice round of applause.

Rep. Rule spoke last, and Gilbert noted, he "immediately established contact with the audience.... The attention he received – rapt rather than respectful – indicated his bridging the communication gap." He pointed out that a large American Legion Post in Little Rock had called for legislation that could preclude anyone under indictment for a felony from appearing on a state-supported campus. Rule said that under such circumstances, "you could not have had Gandhi on your campus nor Christ nor Socrates." Rule told the audience, "The University is the last place a person should be denied the right to state his views....The University is the cradle of liberty in this country." When his speech ended, Rule got a standing ovation.[51]

As an aside, I will note that I was among the Young Republican troublemakers who stood at the entrance of this Symposium session to distribute leaflets with the "scandalous criticisms" that Jones mentioned in his speech. These handouts were described by the *Gazette* as follows:

> *Before the lecture Tuesday, several students handed out leaflets saying "Our special thanks are extended to Guy (Mutt) Jones of Conway and Milt Earnhart of Fort Smith for attempting to insure our intellectual pureness and virginity.... We feel that they have attempted to prevent us from hearing a segregationist theory, which would support Arkansas's segregationist actions. They have earned our enduring support."*

The leaflets also said: "We furthermore are gratified that these two esteemed, unhypocritical, progressive-minded legislators would take their time to appear on our campus as intellectual bastions serving to provide us with "ample doses of patriotism." The leaflets were signed "under auspices of AHCPMC (Ad Hoc Committee for the Preservation of Mental Chastity)."[52]

The miscreants who wrote and distributed this leaflet were tickled that its content was quoted in several newspaper stories and that it seemed to irritate Sen. Jones.

In a satirical follow-up to the sometimes-acrimonious criticism of Ali's invitation to speak on the UofA campus, the April Fool's edition of the *Arkansas Traveler* had a front-page story titled "Donald Duck Called Subversive." The lead paragraph was, "Sen. Mutt Moans of Conway announced today that he is trying to prevent the scheduled appearance

of Donald Duck on the University campus next month." Another paragraph explained, "The Conway Senator...opposed Mr. Duck's radical ideas, calling him a featherbrain, and denouncing him as 'all wet.' He [said] that to pass a bill was one thing but to grow one was something altogether different...." The story ended by noting that Senator Moans was the chairman of an organization of senators whose motto was "Don't just be a cog...be a crank."[53]

THE SYMPOSIUM '69 CONTROVERSY AS A MILESTONE. In Rep. Rule's remarks to the special Symposium '69 session, he called Ali's UofA speech a "milestone" in the state's history and asserted, "Muhammad Ali's appearance could not have happened six years ago."[54] Rule was correct. The Symposium '69 controversy measured how much the UofA had changed from a few years earlier when, with little doubt, university officials would have stopped an on-campus talk by a famous Black man who had refused the draft. They would have done so largely out of fear of retribution for such an event by Gov. Faubus.[55]

The extent of the changes at the UofA in the five years leading up to 1969 is evident when comparing the reaction of university administrators to criticisms of Ali's speech to their reaction in 1964 when two student organizations asked permission to host controversial speakers on the campus. The first proposed orator was Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, a close aide of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., and the second was Peter Vassilev, a cultural affairs officer at the Bulgarian Legation in Washington.

Under the rules in effect at the time, a UofA student organization could host an open-to-the-public lecture on campus only if (1) it was properly registered, (2) it received permission to invite the speaker from its faculty sponsor, and (3) its proposed speaker was approved by the UofA Facilities Use Committee, comprised of appointed faculty members and students.[56] Those regulations, contained in "Administrative Memorandum 45," had been adopted in October 1962 after a visiting expert, Dr. Albert Ellis, a prominent psychotherapist and author, had told his audience, comprised mostly of students, that premarital sex was normal and desirable. The ensuing hubbub featured outrage from Gov. Faubus.[57] In his weekly newspaper, *The Statesman*, he demanded that the "University bar such speakers in the future."[58] In the wake of that "scandal," the UofA Board of Trustees created the Facilities Use Committee to shoo away guests who Faubus was sure to dislike.

In May 1964, the UofA Student Bar Association asked permission from the Facilities Use Committee to host Rev. Walker's lecture, titled "The Legal Implications of Non-Violent Actions in the Civil Rights Movement," at the law school. Probably guessing that Faubus would frown on such a public address, the Committee decided the topic would interest law students only, and it refused to allow an open on-campus gathering. However, it permitted the association to host Rev. Walker's talk

at a private meeting of its members in the law school building. Despite this effort to limit access to the speech, the lecture hall was jammed with both student bar members and "invited guests."[59]

Gov. Faubus, whose political views at the time exhibited a "blend of coded white supremacy and McCarthyism," was "particularly upset" when Walker spoke at the law school. In response, "he urged various people to protest with letters to the university administration." Also at his request, "[H]is close political associate, Dallas P. Raney, chairman of the university's board of trustees, sent a bluntly worded letter to President David Mullins, saying he had made a mistake by allowing a radical like Walker to appear on campus."[60]

Raney's letter may still have been on Mullins' mind in November 1964 when the UofA Foreign Relations Club requested access to a campus auditorium for a public address by Vassilev, whom the press usually labeled the "Bulgarian communist." The Facilities Use Committee refused the club's request, pointing to Vassilev's political beliefs as its reason.[61]

Reacting to the committee's decision, Rev. James E. Loudermilk, minister of the off-campus Methodist Student Center, offered "in the interest of academic freedom" to host the event at his center. His invitation was sharply criticized by the Methodist Bishop of Arkansas, Paul V. Galloway, and by several Methodist congregations across the states.[62] Nevertheless, he did not back down, and Vassilev gave his speech, which most of the 200 to 300 attendees found desultory, at the center.[63] The next day, Gov. Faubus told a news conference, "I think it is regrettable and tragic that there are those who would give aid and comfort to the Communist cause and ideology by their willingness to sponsor and hear representatives of the Communist bloc at this time."[64]

By keeping Vassilev's speech off the UofA campus, university administrators avoided becoming a target of Faubus' ire, but the action roiled both the Student Senate and the Faculty Council. They heatedly demanded that the campus be opened to talks by controversial visitors without interference from administrators or their committees.[65] To forestall efforts of some faculty members to push the Faculty Council to quickly adopt more-liberal speaker rules, Pres. Mullins appointed a faculty-student committee to review the existing policy and recommend changes.[66]

When the committee's report arrived in early April 1965, President Mullins and the Faculty Council accepted recommendations for major changes. The Council adopted a policy that allowed university organizations to host speakers at open, on-campus meetings without prior university approval as long as they did not state or imply that the university sponsored the speech.[67] Fortunately for President Mullins, the more-liberal speaker rules did not lead to a clash with Faubus during the governor's remaining 20 months in office.[68]

Thanks to the revised speaker policy, by 1969 UofA had no real restrictions on whom student groups could invite to address open forums

on the campus. And it was this policy that provided the grounds, and perhaps the imperative, for President Mullins to resist calls to intervene to stop Ali from being part of Symposium '69. UofA administrators could wholeheartedly defend the speaker rules because with Winthrop Rockefeller as governor, they no longer feared the narrow-eyed scrutiny of guest speakers they had experienced under Faubus. Also, they knew they had the backing of much of the state legislature, which became more tolerant of free speech on college campuses after the 1966 and 1968 elections replaced many older legislators who lived in rural areas with freer thinking, urban-dwelling men and women.[69]

The years following the Symposium '69 set-to would not be kind to Senators Sprick and Jones. Sen. Sprick lost his bid for re-election in the 1970 Democratic primary, the same election that ended Faubus' effort to regain the governorship.[70] In 1972, Sen. Jones was convicted in a federal court of filing fraudulent income tax returns. He fought off attempts to remove him, as a convicted felon, from the state Senate until late 1974.[71] Unlike his colleagues, Sen. Earnhart kept his Senate seat for another decade, though his tenure was sometime bumpy, until he retired after the 1980 election.[72]

Given the UofA's demonstrated commitment to a liberal speaker policy, Symposium '70 and Symposium '71 featured several provocative and unpopular speakers, who attracted larger audiences than those who were less controversial. University leaders, to their credit, did not flinch from the criticism they received for allowing on-campus talks by such people as anti-war activist Dr. Benjamin Spock, drug guru Timothy Leary (who canceled his speech at the last minute), and Black comedian Dick Gregory.[73]

Outside the university, some letter-to-the-editor writers complained about the "liberal" and "radical" nature of many Symposium speakers, and no doubt some taxpayers were perturbed when certain figures lectured at "their" university.[74] Nevertheless, no one demanded that any of them be silenced, and the state Senate looked the other way when Jane Fonda, a conservative *bête noir*, spoke in November 1970 as part of Symposium '71.[75] Her protest-free lecture at the UofA's Barnhill Fieldhouse attested to the ascendency of free speech, at least for the time being, on the UofA campus.

Endnotes

[1]"Muskie, Clay Due at UA Symposium," *Arkansas Gazette*, February 13, 1969, p. 1B.
[2]Van Tyson, "Ali is Puzzled by Opposition," *Arkansas Democrat*, March 10, 1969, p. 2A.
[3]"WBA, NY State Athletic Commission Strip Cassius Clay of Heavyweight Title," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, April 29, 1967, p. 11. (This Associated Press story appeared in various forms and with different headlines in newspapers across the United States.) Also see, "Clay Refuses Induction; WBA Quickly Lifts Title," *Arkansas Gazette*, April 28, 1967, p. 2B.
[4]Darrell Mack, "Clay (Ali) Guilty, U.S. Judge Levies Five-Year Sentence," *Arkansas Gazette*, July 21, 1967, p. 5B.
[5]Clay v. United States, 403 U.S. 698 (1971). For a good summary of the case and its background, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clay_v._United_States

[6]"Ex-fighter to Speak at UofA Despite Businessmen's Protest," *Arkansas Democrat*, February 20, 1969, p. 6A and "Mullins Refuses to Bar talk by Muhammad Ali at UA Symposium '69," *Arkansas Gazette*, February 21, 1969, p. 1B.

[7]"Just Racism, Negroes Say of Protest," *Arkansas Gazette*, February 21, 1969, p. 1B.

[8]"Bravo, Dr. Mullins" (editorial), *Arkansas Gazette*, February 22, 1969, p. 4A.

[9]"ACLU Hits Move to Bar Ali's Speech," *Arkansas Gazette*, February 22, 1969, p. 2A.

[10]For more on Earnhart's life (1918 – 2012), see obituaries at the following links: https://www.legacy.com/obituaries/swtimes/obituary.aspx?n=milt-earnhart&pid=196310941&fhid=10906 and https://www.dignitymemorial.com/obituaries/fort-smith-ar/milt-earnhart-9210724

[11]According to Ernest Dumas, who covered the state legislature for the *Arkansas Gazette* during many of the years that Earnhart was in office, "[He was] not affiliated with anybody, as far as I could tell, not even his colleagues from Sebastian County and environs. He came in every day, dressed immaculately, his hair perfect, and sat regally at his desk near the back of the Senate. [He] almost never spoke or asked a question. He was gallant to everyone…. He wanted everyone to like him…. More than anything, he was just a strange bird." Email from Dumas to Dan Durning, Nov. 9, 2020.

[12]In his book recounting the efforts of segregationists in Southern states to prove that civil rights advocates were communists or communist sympathizers, Jeff Woods wrote, "The Southern Red Scare was in many ways a by-product on the region's massive resistance to integration. Its proponents' main goal was to discredit the civil rights movement by associating it with the nation's greatest enemy, Communism…. [S]outhern segregationists looked to anti-communism to protect the traditional order." Jeff Woods, *Black Struggle Red Scare* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), p. 5. In Arkansas, Attorney General Bruce Bennett zealously promoted the alleged link between the civil rights movement and communists. On December 16, 17, and 18, 1958, Bennett and the Arkansas Legislative Council held televised hearings to prove that communists were behind racial unrest in Arkansas. See "Reds, Integration Linked by Ex-aide to McCarthy," *Arkansas Gazette*, December 18, 1958, pp. 1A, 2A.

[13]Roy Reed, "School-Sharing Plan Approved," *Arkansas Gazette*, January 20, 1961, p. 2A.

[14]"Probe Peace Center, Senators Ask HUAC; Link to Reds Hinted," *Arkansas Gazette*, January 23, 1969, p. 3A; "Students Protest Action of Senate on Draft Foes," *Arkansas Democrat*, January 23, 1969, p. 14C; and "Antidraft Group Hit," *Arkansas Democrat*, January 23, 1969, p. 8A.

[15]For a biographical sketch of Sprick, see "Dan Travis Sprick (1902 – 1972)," *Encyclopedia of Arkansas*, accessed at https://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/entries/dan-travis-sprick-13146/

[16]"And Now Sprick" (editorial), *Arkansas Gazette*, January 25, 1969, p. 4A.

[17]"Sprick Blasts Editorial, Calls Writer 'Scum,'" *Arkansas Gazette*, January 28, 1969, p. 4A. The enactment of Sprick's resolution inspired an editorial cartoon by George Fisher showing a row of parrots sitting on a high wire strung between two telephone poles. The parrot sitting at the head of the row, labeled "Dan Sprick," is saying "Repeat after me: Protesters are communists." All the other parrots sitting on the wire, labeled "Arkansas Senate," are saying "Protesters are communists."

[18]"Senators Condemn Plan for Speech by Ali at U of A," *Arkansas Gazette*, March 1, 1969, p. 11A. Also, see Brenda Blagg, "State Senate Condemns Muhammad's Appearance," *Arkansas Traveler*, March 3, 1969, p. 1.

[19]"Cassius Clay Day in the State Senate "(editorial), *Arkansas Gazette*, March 1, 1969, p. 4A.

[20]See endnote 18.

[21]See endnote 18.

[22]For more on Caldwell (1932 –), see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jim_Caldwell_(Arkansas_politician) and http://www.conservapedia.com/Jim_Caldwell

[23]See endnote 18.

[24]See endnote 19.

[25]Ibid.

[26]"VFW Urges Cancellation of Ali Talk," *Arkansas Gazette*, March 2, 1969, p. 15A.

[27]"Legion Post 334 Hits Ali Speech," *Arkansas Gazette*, March 8, 1969, p. 3A.

[28]"Legion Post Asks a Law to Halt Clay Appearance," *Arkansas Democrat*, March 9, 1969, p. 3A and "Legion Post Joins Move to Halt Talk," *Arkansas Gazette*, March 9, 1969, p. 17A.

29"Students Speak to Legislators; Discuss Muhammad Resolution," *Arkansas Traveler*, March 4, 1969, p. 1 and "Bill Requiring Dog Track's Officers to Live in Crittenden Sent to WR," *Arkansas Gazette*, March. 5, 1969, p. 11A.

[30]"Come Ahead, Muhammad" (editorial), *Arkansas Democrat*, February 21, 1969, p. 4A.
[31]Allan Gilbert, "As I See It" (column), *Northwest Arkansas Times*, February 27, 1969, p. 4.
[32]"Guest Editorials: Praise for the President, the Pine Bluff Commercial," *Arkansas Democrat*, March 1, 1969, p. 6.
[33]"Free Speech at U. of Arkansas" (letter to the editor from Col. John N. Warnock), *Arkansas Gazette*, March 5, 1969, p. 6A.
[34]"Says Cassius Clay Should Be in Pen" (letter to editor from Ercell Brock), *Arkansas Democrat*, March 8, 1969, p. 4.
[35]"Send 'Pvt. Sprick' to War, UA Young Republicans Urge," *Arkansas Gazette*, March 7, 1969, p. 8A and "YRC joins 'Ali' Game, Suggests Nixon Send Senators to Vietnam," *Arkansas Traveler*, March 10, 1969, p. 1.
[36]"YDC Reacts to Ali Bill," *Arkansas Traveler*, March 5, 1969, p. 1.
[37]"Lease Rebuts Sen. Earnhart" (letters written by Milt Earnhart and George F. Lease Jr.), *Arkansas Traveler*, March 12, 1969, p. 2.
[38]For more on Ali's activities while in Arkansas during this visit, including details of his UofA speech, see Evin Demirel, *African-American Athletes in Arkansas* (Fayetteville: ED Publications LLC, 2017), pp. 127-165.
[39]"Clay-Ali Calls for Segregation; Advocates Peaceful Separation," *Arkansas Traveler*, March 13, 1969, p. 1. Also see, "McKissick Violent, Ali Was Mild," *Hope Star*, March 13, 1969, p. 3 and "Diverse Racial Solutions Urged," *Northwest Arkansas Times*, March 13, 1969, p. 1.
[40]Tucker Steinmetz, "Muhammad Ali Sees a Plague if Whites are 'Intransigent,'" *Arkansas Democrat*, March 13, 1969, p. 14A, and Dick Allen, "McKissick Makes Muhammad Ali Sound Moderate at Symposium," *Arkansas Gazette*, March 14, 1969, p. 16A.
[41]"Non-Controversial Ali," *Arkansas Gazette*, March. 20, 1969, p. 6A.
[42]"Blacks Have Bad Luck McKissick Tells Crowd; Both Races Suffer," *Arkansas Traveler*, March 13, 1969, p. 1 and Dick Allen, "McKissick Makes Muhammad Ali Sound Moderate at Symposium," *Arkansas Gazette*, March 14, 1969, p. 16A.
[43]He had defeated Rep. Paul van Dalsem, who had been the most powerful member of Faubus's Old Guard. See Robert Thompson, "Barefoot and Pregnant: The Education of Paul Van Dalsem," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 57(4), Winter, 1998, pp. 377-407. For more on Rule (1937 –), see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herb_Rule
[44]Allan Gilbert Jr., "As I See It" (column), *Northwest Arkansas Times*, March 22, 1969, p 4.
[45]Farrell Conner, "State Legislators Praise, Condemn Students," *Northwest Arkansas Times*, March 19, 1969, pp. 1-2. Also see, Dick Allen, "Rule, Caldwell are 'Heroes' of Legislators' Debate Over Appearance by Ali," *Arkansas Gazette*, March 20, 1969, p. 18A and "Legislators Discuss Muhammad Ali, Personal Liberties," *Arkansas Traveler*, March 19, 1969, p. 6A.
[46]"Guy Hamilton 'Mutt' Jones (1911-1986), *Encyclopedia of Arkansas History and Culture*, accessed at https://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/entries/guy-hamilton-mutt-jones-4937/
[47]Both Earnhart and Jones had served in Europe during World War II. Jones had enlisted as a private and risen to the rank of captain in the Seventy-first Infantry Division. Earnhart, according to his obituary (see footnote 10), was in the U.S. Army Signal Corps and "…[H]e witnessed the first crossing of the Rhine River at Oppenheim and the Battle of the Bulge. While stationed in Weimer, Germany in 1945, [he] was among the first to visit the Buchenwald Concentration Camp." He later told a newspaper reporter that he had opposed Ali's UofA speech because Ali was a draft dodger. That does not square exactly with the evocation of communism in his letter to Lease (see endnote 37.) Bill Bowden, "Ali's '69 UA Speech Raised a Stir," *Northwest Arkansas Democrat Gazette*, June 9, 2016, accessed at https://www.nwaonline.com/news/2016/jun/09/ali-s-69-ua-speech-raised-a-stir-201606/
[48]See endnote 45.
[49]See endnote 44.
[50]See endnote 45.
[51]Dick Allen, "Rule, Caldwell are "Heroes" of legislative debate over appearance by Ali," *Arkansas Gazette*, March 20, 1969, p. 6A.
[52]See endnote 51.
[53]Westlaco Kid, "Donald Duck Called Subversive," *Arkansas Traveler*, April 1, 1969, p. 1.
[54]"Only a Few Hear Legislators Discuss Muhammad Ali Visit," *Arkansas Democrat*, March 19, 1969, p. 3A.
[55]Orval Faubus (1910-1994) was first elected governor in November 1954, taking office in January 1955. He served six two-year terms, leaving office in January 1967. His longevity, which

enabled him to appoint all the members of state boards and commissions; his popularity; his strategic distribution of patronage and pork; and his political skills enabled him to exert extraordinary power over the state's government and politics.

By the early 1960s, he had, according to his biographer Roy Reed, amassed "perhaps more [political power] than any other American governor except that which Huey P. Long had acquired in neighboring Louisiana a generation earlier." Historians Ben Johnson observed that he had "an unprecedented political machine," and David Tucker noted that he "proved himself the most skillful politician in the history of the state." Roy Reed, *Faubus: The Life and Times of an American Prodigal* (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 1997), p. xi; Ben F. Johnson III, *Arkansas in Modern America* (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 2000), p. 147; and David M. Tucker, *Arkansas: A People and Their Reputation* (Memphis, TN: Memphis State University Press, 1985), p. 96.

His extraordinary accumulation of power gave him substantial control over the budgets of state agencies and institutions such as the UofA, toward which, according to Reed (p. 267), he felt "rancor" because of the widespread opposition to him found there. His office kept a "list of university teachers and staff members known to be anti-Faubus" (p. 267). Reed (p. 257) mentions in his book the story of an anti-Faubus law professor who criticized the Faubus administration in a speech to the UofA Young Democrats. In response, Faubus urged the Board of Trustees to fire him but he "found work in another state one jump ahead of the axe." Also, Reed (p. 281) describes an incident in which Faubus was "picketed by a group of university students during a speech at nearby Springdale [and] the [Arkansas State Police Criminal Investigation Division] traced their cars and identified them. They included the president of the student body, the editor of the student newspaper, a homecoming queen..., and about a dozen members of fraternities and sororities."

Although Faubus suggested that the UofA did not fear him, it did. The American Association of University Professors observed that in 1964 the university appeared "to be more motivated toward placating the state legislature and state officials than in sustaining academic freedom." Also, the *Arkansas Gazette* accused the UofA of acting in a way that showed it "was afraid of recriminations from the state's political establishment." "Governor Doubts UA Fears Him," *Arkansas Gazette*, May 11, 1965, p. 2; "AAUP Removes Censure, Cites Academic Freedom," *Arkansas Traveler*, December 14, 1968, p. 1, and "Dr. Mullins' Defense," *Arkansas Gazette*, December 4, 1964, p. 6A.

[56]University rules allowed faculty members to invite anyone they wanted, with no permission required, to be guest speakers in their classes. Speaker regulations governed invitations issued by campus groups for meetings open to the public held at the university.

[57]"Ellis to Speak on Sex, Love Tonight at 8," *Arkansas Traveler*, February 13, 1962, p. 1; "Overflow Crowd Hears Ellis Lecture," *Arkansas Traveler*, February 14, 1962, p. 1; "Guest Lecturer Causes Uproar at UA When He Speaks for Pre-Marital Sex," *Arkansas Gazette*, February 17, 1962, p. 1A; "Faubus Blasts UA Sex Talks; Angered Physician Replies," *Arkansas Gazette*, February 18, 1962, pp. 1A, 2A; and George Douthit, "Governor Demands Apology or Firing in U of A Sex Talk," *Arkansas Democrat*, February 17, 1962, p. 1.

[58]Robert A. Leflar, *The First 100 Years: Centennial History of the University of Arkansas* (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Foundation, 1972), p. 359. Extensive information on this controversy and the "free speech" controversies that followed at the UofA until the end of the decade can be found in Leflar's papers at the Special Collections Department of the Library of Arkansas Library, Robert A. Leflar Papers. MC 206, Series II (Research Files), Box. 6.

[59]"Top Integration Figure to Speak on U. A. Campus," *Northwest Arkansas Times*, May 15, 1964, p. 2 and "Racial Equality Discussed," *Northwest Arkansas Times*, May 16, 1964, p. 1. Also, see Leflar, 1972, p. 360.

[60]Reed, *Faubus*, pp. 266-267.

[61]"UA Bars Address by Red; Talk Set for New Site," *Arkansas Gazette*, November 19, 1964, p. 1B

[62]"Bulgarian Official to Talk at U of A Methodist Center," *Arkansas Traveler*, November 19, 1964, p. 1 and "U of A, Methodist Bishop Both Fail to Block Talks by Bulgarian Official," *Arkansas Gazette*, November 20, 1964, p. 1A.

[63]"Communist's Speech at UA Stirs Wrath of Faubus, Church; Jaycees Defend It," *Arkansas Gazette*, November 21, 1964, p. 1A

[64]"Faubus Criticizes Those Who Invited Commie," *Arkansas Democrat*, November 20, 1964, p. 24. Within months, Rev. Loudermilk was forced to leave his post at the UofA Methodist Student Center and was reassigned to a position in California. A. W. Martin Jr., "The Campus Ministry of James E. Loudermilk," *Flashback*, 65(3) Fall, 2015, pp. 135-144.

[65]Carl Lumpkin and Sylvia Spencer, "Speaker Policy Under Attack," *Arkansas Traveler*, Dec 1, 1964, pp 1, 2 and Cid Sutoris, "Senators Applaud Loudermilk's Stand," *Arkansas Traveler*, Dec. 1, 1964, pp. 1, 4. Also, see Leflar, *First 100 Years*, pp. 260-261.

[66]Sylvia Spencer, "Committee to Get Speaker Policy Problem," *Arkansas Traveler*, December 8, 1964, p. 1 and "Speaker Committee Selected," *Arkansas Traveler*, January 5, 1965, p. 1.

[67]"Council Passes Speaker Policy," *Arkansas Traveler*, April 9, 1965, p. 1 and Leflar, *First 100 Years*, p. 262.

[68]One minor controversy arose when Gary Coe, the head of the Off-Campus Men organization, invited a controversial figure to speak publicly on campus at a time when the old policy was being replaced by the new one. The speaker was a student leader of the University of California, Berkeley, Free Speech Movement. Coe cut some corners when obtaining the required approval for the talk from the organization's faculty sponsor. For his transgression, he was not allowed to attend the 1965 summer session. "Berkeley Student Leader Violates Speaker Policy: Over 100 Listen as he 'Agitates," *Arkansas Traveler*, May 6, 1965, p. 1 and Ginger Shiras, "Gary Coe's Suspension Altered in Discipline Committee Retrial," *Arkansas Traveler*, May 19, 1965, p. 1.

[69]Those elections were the first ones held following the redistricting of the Arkansas General Assembly that was mandated by the U.S. Supreme Court to ensure adherence to the principle of one-person, one-vote. Nearly half of the incumbent representatives were not re-elected in 1966 election, and after the 1968 election, less than a third of the members of the state House of Representatives had served prior to 1966. At least one-third of the members of the state Senate in 1969 had been elected for the first time in 1966 or 1968. For a discussion of the redistricting, see Thompson, "Barefoot and Pregnant," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 1998.

Thanks to the political changes that occurred in the 1966 and 1968 elections, UofA leaders gained more leeway to take other actions in response to the rapid social changes underway in Arkansas and the nation. For example, in June 1969, Mullins announced that the Uof A would discontinue the compulsory participation of freshmen and sophomore men in Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) programs, and in early December, Dr. A. W. Worthington, the director of the Razorback Band, declared that it would stop playing "Dixie" as a UofA fight song. "University of Arkansas Puts ROTC on an Elective Basis," *Arkansas Democrat*, June 6, 1969, p. 1A and "'Dixie' Out As UA Fight Song," *Northwest Arkansas Times*, December 4, 1969, p. 1.

[70]"Sprick Defeated: Results Listed for Senate, House," *Arkansas Gazette*, August 27, 1970, p. 7A.

[71]"Senate Votes, 25-6, For Ouster of Jones," *Arkansas Gazette*, August 2, 1974, p. 1A. (He was not removed from office until November when an Arkansas Supreme Court decision upheld the Senate action.)

[72]Earnhart had an unusual post-retirement life. Ten years after he retired from the state Senate, in 1990, he ran for lieutenant governor. He finished third in the Democratic primary, receiving a little over five percent of the vote. John Reed, "Ex-Lawmaker Wants to Return to State Office," *Arkansas Gazette*, February 25, p. 4B. Late in his life, Earnhart spent time in Hollywood. According to his obituary (see endnote 10), in 2011 (at the age of 93) he became a member of the Screen Actors Guild, "which led to numerous modeling and commercial opportunities. In addition to performing on the stage in New York, he acted in a number of Hallmark movies and won a feature role on *ER*'s final episode." He died in June 2020 having reached the age of 102.

[73]For more on Symposium '70 and Symposium '71 speakers, see Ann Pride, "Symposium '70 Slated for 10 nights," *Arkansas Traveler*, September 16, 1969, p. 1 and "Symposium Begins Fourth Year Monday," *Arkansas Traveler*, September 16, 1970, p. 1.

[74]Examples of the letters include "Jane Fonda Isn't Diverse" (letter to the editor from Doyle Anderson), *Arkansas Democrat*, November 24, 1970, p. 4A, and "A Critique of Symposium '70 [sic]" (letter to the editor from Don Curdie), *Arkansas Gazette*, November 25, 1970, p. 6. The letter from Anderson said that the list of Symposium '71 speakers is "packed with one-sided views from the left.... The slate of speakers are (sic) designed to put forward revolutionary communistic ideas." The letter from Curdie called Symposium '71 "a stump for liberal and radical speakers."

[75]Collins Hemingway, "Jane Fonda at U of A, Proposes Socialistic Economic System in U.S. With All Sharing," *Arkansas Gazette*, November 22, 1970, p. 23.

UofA's Nelson Hackett Project: One Man's Struggle for Freedom

The Legacy of a Fugitive from Slavery

By Michael Pierce

This article is reprinted from the Fulbright REVIEW, *official blog for the Fulbright College of Arts and Sciences, October 14, 2020, courtesy of the UofA Fulbright College. Hackett's story was the subject of an online symposium held October 28. A website devoted to the Hackett project includes an interactive map of Hackett's flight, documents, and transcripts. Readers can access it at https://nelsonhackettproject.uark.edu. To access a video of the symposium, go to https://fulbright.uark.edu/programs/humanities-program/arkansas-stories.php.*

In the summer of 1841, Nelson Hackett, an enslaved man, fled Arkansas in search of freedom. His flight took him nearly 1,000 miles, from Fayetteville across Missouri, Illinois, and Indiana, through parts of Ohio and Michigan, into Canada, and ending at Chatham, some 50 miles east of Detroit.

Upon setting foot in Canada, Hackett believed that "the humanity of the British law made him a free man."

But Hackett would not be free for very long.

Alfred Wallace, the man who the state of Arkansas considered to be Hackett's owner, tracked him to Chatham, had him arrested on charges of theft – Hackett had taken a horse, saddle, beaver coat, and gold watch for his flight – and secured his extradition back to Arkansas.

Hackett was the first fugitive that Canada returned to bondage. But Hackett would also be the last such fugitive that Canada sent back.

Abolitionists in North America and the United Kingdom refused to allow his return to set a precedent. Fearful that slave owners would fabricate claims of theft to extradite fugitives, they invoked Hackett's case as they met with British and U.S. diplomats, took to the floor of the Canadian Assembly, lobbied imperial officials, and petitioned Parliament.

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In the end, abolitionists secured a commitment from the British to regulate the extradition process in ways that made it nearly impossible for slavers to secure the return of fugitives.

Thus, Nelson Hackett and his flight helped ensure that Canada remained a refuge for those fleeing American slavery.

The Nelson Hackett Project, a public humanities program of the University of Arkansas Humanities Center, provides a narrative of Hackett's flight and the conflicts over extradition it provoked as well as primary documents, transcripts, maps, and images. The purpose is not simply to honor one man's struggle for freedom but also to demonstrate the power of human agency.

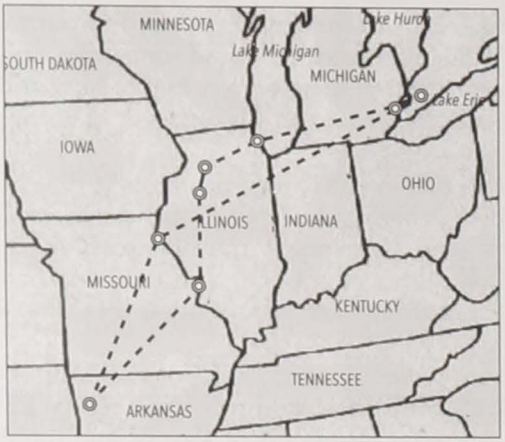
By refusing to accept the fate that slavers sought to impose upon him, Hackett transformed his own world and set in motion a transnational network of Black and white abolitionists who ensured that Canada remained the promised land for those fleeing American slavery. Hackett's flight, thus, helped make it possible for thousands of others to flee bondage, actions that provoked slavers and fueled the sectional crisis that ended with civil war and emancipation.

One of the primary problems in reconstructing the life and flight of Nelson Hackett is that there are few records of his words and thoughts. This problem is rooted in the racism that undergirded the slave system and created most of its archival records. Hackett's flight is therefore reconstructed using other voices, including slavers and their apologists, Black and white abolitionists, journalists, and colonial and elected officials.

This process, though, makes Hackett into someone who is acted upon and judged rather than the center of his own story and in this way obscures much of his humanity. Only Hackett's actions themselves – his flight from Arkansas, journey to Canada, and escape upon his return to Fayetteville – tell us about his motivations and desires.

Little is known about Hackett's early life. He did not enter the historical record until two weeks after his escape. At that time, Alfred Wallace, a merchant and landowner, registered two bills of sale at the Washington County Courthouse. In the first, dated June 15, 1840, Jacob Cartwright conveyed "a certain Negro Boy named Nelson about 24 years of age" to Willis Wallace in exchange for "a boy named Moses and a grey mule." In the second, dated one day later, Willis Wallace sold "Nelson" to his brother Alfred for $1,000. The bills of sale do not indicate how Cartwright came to own Hackett or how Hackett got to Fayetteville, which was not established until 1828. They do suggest, though, that the town's white people knew him simply as "Nelson." When and why he adopted the last name of Hackett, which he used in Canada, remain unknown.

The only descriptions of Hackett's physical appearance come from an account of his return to Fayetteville. A reporter for the *Peoria Register* described him as "handsomely formed, about 30 years old, of very prepossessing address" and noted that he "wore his hair nicely combed,



The Hackett Project team constructed an interactive map of Hackett's escape from Fayetteville north, via the Underground Railroad, to Canada, and his eventual return in custody to Arkansas. The map is based on records of abolitionists, journalists, officials, slave owners, and others. This is an adaptation of that map. To see the team's interactive map, go to https://nelsonhackettproject.uark.edu/the-project/.

was genteelly clad, and was in short a negro dandy."

There are conflicting accounts of Hackett's July 1841 departure from Arkansas. Alfred Wallace accused Hackett of leaving Fayetteville while Wallace was away and of stealing a racehorse, saddle, coat, £100 ($500) in silver and gold coin, and a neighbor's watch on the way out of town. Wallace initially suggested that Hackett raped a white woman before leaving town but quickly dropped the claim.

Abolitionists, though, portrayed the thefts as incidental to Hackett's escape. According to Charles Stewart, a white abolitionist who interviewed the fugitive in Detroit, Hackett had accompanied Wallace to a horse race "a considerable distance" from Fayetteville. Wallace did not return home but directed Hackett to take the horse and other items back.

Instead of heading to Fayetteville, Hackett made his escape. Stewart wrote, "Hackett finding himself well mounted, under circumstances that permitted absence, directed his course towards liberty.... At the time he had in care the outside coat of his master, and he also had his gold watch."

After fleeing Arkansas, Hackett headed 360 miles northeast to Marion City, Missouri, a hotbed of abolitionist activity located on the Mississippi River. According to the account by the Peoria journalist, "[Hackett] travelled only at night, and hiding through the day in the woods, subsisting on such fare as the desert afforded. Upon reaching the [Missouri] river, he luckily found the ferry tended by a negro, of whom it is believed he made a confidant, as the same negro subsequently denied all knowledge of the fugitive's passing that way. The friend thus gained, doubtless furnished him with a supply of food, while by his advice he was probably enabled to proceed more boldly. Avoiding the thoroughfares, he made for Marion city on the Mississippi."

After crossing the Mississippi River, Hackett probably made his way to nearby Quincy, Illinois, a prominent starting-off point on the Underground Railroad. The only account that describes his journey from Illinois to Chatham – the one in the *Peoria Register* – provides only superficial

information: "Here he [Hackett] breathed freer, and ventured to pursue his journey in the day time....As he journeyed, he would sometimes represent himself as being a free man, living in some county before him, and at others, when he thought it would better answer his purpose, as a slave escaping from bondage."

Crossing into Canada in late August 1841, Hackett thought that he had found freedom. Alfred Wallace, though, had put a man on his trail and, after finding Hackett's destination, personally travelled to Canada. Wallace found Hackett in Chatham on September 6, beat him, and had him imprisoned. Wallace's demand for Hackett's extradition on charges of theft set off international furor.

Abolitionists – both black and white – called on Canadian authorities to honor the British Empire's commitment to providing refuge for fugitives and grant Hackett his freedom. Defenders of slavery, and those who wanted to prevent black fugitives from settling in Canada, countered that Hackett was not simply a fugitive but also a thief who needed to be punished.

Confident that Hackett would be released, abolitionists were surprised when Canada's governor-general, Sir Charles Bagot, ordered the fugitive to be returned to Arkansas. Bagot explained, "to refuse to surrender him would be to establish as a principle that no slave escaping to this province should be given up, whatever offence, short perhaps of murder, he might have committed; a principle which would have been repugnant to the common sense of justice of the civilised world, would have involved us in disputes of the most inconvenient nature with the neighbouring states, and would have converted this province into an asylum for the worst characters."

After Bagot's February 1842 order, an agent of Arkansas's governor transported a bound and gagged Hackett to Detroit's jail to await a return to Fayetteville later that spring. At this time, the city's Black community mobilized the transnational abolitionist movement in an ill-fated effort to prevent Hackett's return to Arkansas.

The Colored Vigilant Committee explained, "Hackett was not demanded by the Executive of Arkansas, for the purpose of punishing for larceny, but to punish and make an example of him for the unpardonable offense of absconding from slavery" and warned that, if the extradition was allowed to stand, Canada would "no longer be a safe asylum for our unfortunate brethren who are fleeing from bondage."

In early May 1842, two agents of the state of Arkansas fitted Hackett with chains and a hobble for his forced return to Fayetteville. The trip began aboard a Great Lakes steamship that took them to Chicago. There, they boarded a stagecoach for a four-day trip to Peoria, where they intended to catch a steamboat. But on the third night, while in the town of Princeton, Hackett escaped again, this time for two nights before being recaptured by an area farmer. After retrieving Hackett, the three

men steamed to St. Louis before continuing on to Fayetteville.

The most detailed account of Nelson Hackett's June 1842 return to Fayetteville appeared nine years later in the *Liberator*, William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist newspaper. It came from William Murdock, an enslaved man who also escaped from Alfred Wallace and made his way to Canada.

Though it's unknown how Hackett was restrained, this 1839 drawing, taken from the *American Anti-Slavery Almanac*, shows the kind of chains often used in Hackett's time for such purposes. *Illustrations of the American anti-slavery almanac for New York, New York.* New York, 1840. pdf. https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.24800100

Murdock recounted: "Nelson Hackett was brought back by [Alfred] Wallace … he was kept in handcuffs and fetters for some time, and closely watched besides – that he was flogged with great severity five or six times, and then sold off to the interior of Texas – that the first whipping, which was done in the presence of all the slaves, consisted of 150 lashes upon his naked body. His whippings afterward varied from 39 to 50 to 60."

Murdock's account is consistent with what one of Arkansas's U.S. senators told abolitionist Lewis Tappan in late 1842: "N. H. was taken to Arkansas – tried for stealing & publickly whipped – then delivered to his master by whom was sold to some one in Texas."

While still in Fayetteville or on his way to Texas, Hackett escaped yet again.

This is known because Arkansas's congressman Edward Cross visited abolitionist Joshua Leavitt, an associate of Tappan, to tell him. Leavitt recounted the conversation in a letter that appeared in several abolitionist papers: Hackett "escaped a third time, and has not been heard from since; and whether he has gone clear, or is destroyed, is not known."

Hackett's fate will ultimately remain unknown unless additional evidence surfaces. But his story would set off a chain of events that helped ensure that Canada remained a safe refuge for fugitives from American slavery.

Abolitionists – both in the United States and the British Empire – refused to let Hackett's extradition set a precedent. Soon after Hackett was sold off to Texas in the late summer of 1842, U.S. Secretary of State Daniel Webster and British diplomat Lord Ashburton negotiated a treaty to smooth relations between the United States and British North America.

Among the issues they addressed were land disputes, Great Lakes navigation, and the extradition of criminals. Abolitionists were especially concerned with Article 10 of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty as it codified the procedures used to extradite Hackett back to Arkansas. They feared Article 10 would not only discourage enslaved people from fleeing to Canada but also make it possible for slavers to extradite the thousands of fugitives who had already settled north of the border.

Much of the abolitionist campaign to convince the British government to revoke or modify Article 10 was built around Nelson Hackett's extradition and the violence he endured upon his return to Fayetteville. They insisted that the injustices suffered by Hackett would be repeated thousands of times if the extradition provision was allowed to stand.

The campaign began in September 1842, when a delegation from the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society visited Lord Ashburton. Led by Lewis Tappan and Gerrit Smith, the delegation opened the meeting by discussing the "particulars of the case of Nelson Hackett."

Lord Ashburton responded that Article 10 was needed to prevent the escape of common criminals across the border, a problem that was creating difficulties on both sides. He explained that, if fugitives from slavery had been exempted from Article 10, the U.S. Senate would reject the entire treaty. Lord Ashburton assured Tappan and Smith that the British government remained committed to abolition and "friends of the slave in England would be very watchful to see that no wrong practice took place under article ten."

Ashburton's assurances satisfied some, with the Boston-based *Emancipator and Free American* insisting that "such cases [as Hackett's] will never pass again under the tenth article." The Americans, though, realized that British subjects were better positioned to lobby Her Majesty's government.

When Parliament took up ratification of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, British and Canadian abolitionists likewise invoked Hackett in demanding modification of Article 10.

Thomas Clarkson warned that the unmodified treaty threatened the security of some 12,000 Canadians who had escaped bondage in America: "slave owners, encouraged by the case of Nelson Hackett … will pester our government in Canada with thousands of applications."

Charles Stuart insisted that the fugitives Canada would send back under Article 10 could never receive fair trials and offered Hackett's example as proof: "Alas! He is in Arkansas – he is in the fangs of tyrants."

Prime Minister Robert Peel's Parliamentary majority blocked efforts to modify Article 10, fearing that the Americans would reject the amended treaty, but the pressure forced it to provide assurances that the use of Article 10 to extradite fugitives from slavery would be strictly limited.

The Colonial Office followed through by issuing very detailed instructions concerning the return of slavery's fugitives under Article 10. The purpose was to permit extradition only in extraordinary cases, such

as those involving pre-mediated murder.

Such instructions allowed Britain to maintain its treaty obligations with the United States, ensure that fugitives were treated with justice, and mollify abolitionists.

When in early 1843 officials in the Bahamas refused to extradite a Florida fugitive who had killed his master during the escape, abolitionists throughout the North Atlantic world celebrated the limits they had forced upon Article 10. Joshua Leavitt exclaimed, "The excitement, the debates, the doings in Parliament, have done much to awaken public attention that the slaveholders will not likely make application in that quarter."

At the center of these debates was Nelson Hackett.

One man's simple act of fleeing Arkansas and slavery set in motion events that helped to ensure that Canada and the Bahamas would remain places of asylum for those escaping bondage in America.

No fugitives after Hackett would be returned to the United States and slavery.

Although Hackett's fate remains unknown, his martyrdom became an effective tool for those fighting to protect slavery's fugitives.

Hackett's legacy is, thus, significant. The persistent stream of fugitives to Canada after 1843 became one of the two principal factors (the other being the status of slavery in the western territories) that fueled the sectional crisis that led to civil war and emancipation.

Flashback Index, 2020: Revised

Editor's note:
Please note this is a revised version of the *Flashback* Index for 2020 that was printed in the Winter 2020 issue. Unfortunately, some material was inadvertently omitted from the original index. That material is incorporated into this updated version. We deeply apologize for the inconvenience.

2020 Flashback Index - *Revised*

A
Aaron, Anthony, Randall, Issue IV:164-173
Adair, John Lynch, Issue III:121
Alabama Boys, Issue II:94
Allen, Amy, Issue III:129
Allen, Fount, Issue II:93
Allsopp, Fred, Issue III:100
American Association (baseball), Issue IV:150
American Association of University Women, Issue III:99, 107
American Red Cross, Issue III:99, 104
American Women's Suffrage Association, Issue III:104
Angel Aloft, Issue II:80
Appalachian League, Issue IV:150, 156
Appleby, Hezekiah, Issue III:120
A.R. Carroll Drugstore, Issue I:4
Arkansas Building, Issue I:28
Arkansas Business and Economic Review, Issue I:38
Arkansas Centennial Commission, Issue III:99
Arkansas Civil War Sesquicentennial, Issue III:125
Arkansas College, Issue III:121
Arkansas Craft Guild, Issue II:71
Arkansas Cumberland College, Issue I:3, 18, 19, 20
Arkansas Department of Finance and Administration, Issue II:94
Arkansas Family History, Issue III:138
Arkansas Federation of Women's Clubs, Issue III:99
Arkansas Gazette, Issue III:100, 106
Arkansas Genealogical Society, Issue III:138
Arkansas Historic Preservation Program, Issue I:24, 26, 29
Arkansas Historical Quarterly, Issue III:100
Arkansas Industrial University, Issue II:55, 89
Arkansas-Missouri League, Issue IV:150, 154-156
Arkansas Society of CPAs, Issue I:32, 39
Arkansas State Board of Public Accountancy, Issue I:32, 39
Arkansas State League, Issue IV:150
Arkansas Territory, Issue III:119
Arkansas Traveler, Issue III:121
Arkansas Women's Suffrage Centennial project, Issue III:100

Authors and Composers Society of Arkansas, Issue III:99

B
Baggett, James Blake, Issue I:45, 46
Bailey, Carl, Issue III:99
Baker, Russell P., Issue III:138
Ballard, George, Issue III:107
Bancroft, Anne, Issue I:47
Barnes, Harry Forest, Issue III:100
Barr, Frank, Issue II:91
Baskind, Denise L., Issue III:138
Battle of Pea Ridge, Issue II:80
Battle of Cane Hill, Issue I:3
Battle of Elkhorn Tavern, Issue II:78; Issue III:123
Battle of Fayetteville, Issue I:14; Issue III:123
Battle of Prairie Grove, Issue II:53; Issue III:123
Battle of Wilson's Creek, Issue III:125
Bell, Carl, Issue IV:146
Bell, Capt. S.R., Issue III:125
Benge, John, Issue III:119
Bentonville Officeholders, Issue IV:151
Besom, Bob, Issue I:29
Big House, (The), Issue III:133, 134, 135
Bird, Russell, Issue II:77
Blakeley, Adeline, Issue II:50-62; Issue IV:167
Blakeley, Elizabeth Jane Parks, Issue II:52, 53, 55, 57, 60
Blakeley, John, Issue II:52, 55, 60
Blakeley, Leanora Izetta "Nora", Issue II:52, 53, 61, 62
Blind Tiger operations, Issue II:90
Bluff Cemetery (Springdale), Issue II:77
Boone, B.F., Issue III:125
Boone, James, Issue IV:165, 171
Boudinot, Elias, Issue III:121
Boyer, Clete, Issue IV:156
Boyer, Cloyd, Issue IV:156-157
Boyer, Ken, Issue IV:156
Braly, Bobby, Issue I:1, 2, 7
Brooks, Colonel W.H. Brooks, Issue II:62
Brotherhood of America, Issue II:94
Broyles, Lester, Issue III:116
Broyles, Vella, Issue III:116
Brown, Major John Henry, Issue III:125
Brown, William, Issue III:125
Bryan, Leland, Issue II:57
Buchanan, Rev. Andrew, Issue I:16, 17, 18
Buchanan, Sinai, Issue I:17
Bulldog Snack Shop, Issue I:28
Bullpup Snack Shop, Issue I:28
Buchamon, John, Issue III:120
Burnett, Abby, Issue II:74
Butterfield Stagecoach Line, Issue II:52
Byford, Adam, Issue II:69-70

C
Calloway, Cab, Issue II:94
Campbell, Denele, Issue I:13; Issue II: 86
Campbell, William Simeon, Issue III:99, 100
Cane Hill, Issue I:1, 2-12, 7; Issue III:120, 122, 123
Cane Hill, Battle of, Issue I:3
Cane Hill College, Issue I:3, 5
Cane Hill College Association, Issue I:4
Cane Hill College volunteers, Issue I:5
Cane Hill Collegiate Institute, Issue I:2
Cane Hill Female Seminary, Issue I:3
Cane Hill, Images of America, Issue I:2, 11
Cannon, B. B., Issue III:119, 126
Carroll, Oma, Issue II:91
Catt, Carrie Chapman, Issue III:104
Center for Arkansas History and Culture, Issue III:100
Certified Public Accountant, Issue I:32, 33
Cherokee, Issue III:119, 121
Cherokee Advocate, Issue III:121
Cherokee Agency, III:119
Chism, Stephen, Issue III:100, 103
Civil War, Issue I:3, 5; Issue II:75, 78, 84, 88, 89
City Hospital, Issue I:28
Clabber Creek Subdivions I and II, Issue III:126
Clark, Elizabeth Matilda "Aunt Til", Issue II:63, 66, 68
Class C Western Association, Issue IV:149, 150, 152
Class D Arkansas State League, Issue IV:150
Clayton, Elizabeth "Bessie" May Hudgins, Issue II:51, 56, 57
Clinton, Gov. Bill, Issue I:32, 39
Cole, Walter, Issue I:35
College Grove, Issue I:18, 19
Collegians (The), Issue II:93
Columbus (Ohio) Red Birds, Issue IV:155
Combs, John S., Issue III:106
Confederate veterans, (Civil War), Issue II:78
Cook, Betty Dorman, Issue I:33
Cook, Doris Marie, Issue I:1, 32-42
Cook, Ira, Issue I:33
Cooleemee Cards, Issue IV:150, 156

Coolidge, Calvin, Issue III:107
Cooper (James H.) House, Issue, I:25, 27
Covid-19, Issue III:129-130
Cross, Zillah Peel, Issue III:106
Cumberland Presbyterian Church, Issue I:16, 17; Issue III:120, 122
Cumberland Presbyterians, Issue I:2
Cumby, Alice, Issue III:139
Cumby, Major B., Issue III:139
Cumby, John M., Issue III:139
Cumby, Josephine (Sandin), Issue III:138, 139, 140
Cumby, Neddie (aka Nettie), Issue III:139, 140
Cunningham house, Issue III:126
Cunningham, Mary (Tuttle), Issue III:126
Cunningham, William D., Issue III:118, 119, 120, 121, 126
Cunningham, Jane Tuttle, Issue III:118
Curtis, Major General Samuel R., Issue II:80

D
Dallett, Tim, Issue 1:47
Daniel (Isom) family, Issue II:76
Daniel, Charlotte, Issue II:75
Daniel, Isom (or Isham), Issue II:75, 78, 79, 81, 82
Daniel, James Jesse, Issue II:75, 81, 83
Daniel, Lucy Jane (See Twigg, Lucy Daniel), Issue II:75
Daniel, Rebecca, Issue II:75, 81, 82
Daniel, Sabra Angelina, Issue II:75, 83
Daniel, Stella Kathrine, Issue II:75, 81, 82, 83
Daugherty, Anderson, Issue II:91
David Noah Edmiston House, Issue I:4
Davis, Jeff, Issue II:55
Davis, Lex, Issue III:100
Democrat Publishing Company, Issue III:104, 107
Democrat Women's Club, Issue III:105
Democratic Party, Issue III:105
Denton, Virginia, Issue II:91
Disabled American Veterans, Issue II:92, 94
Diverse Settlers Committee, Issue I:13
Dowell, Ralph, Issue II:57
Doyle, Arthur Conan, Issue III:100, 107-108
Drake Field, Issue I:23, 29
Drake, Doris, Issue III:106
Durning, Dan, Issue IV:146
Dusak, Erv, Issue IV:157
Dutchmills (aka Dutchtown), Issue III:140
Dwight Presbyterian Mission, Issue III:120

E
Earle barn, Issue I:8
Earle (Major Fontaine Richard) House, Issue I:7
Earle, Major Fontaine Richard, Issue I:7
Early Settlers' Personal History Project, Issue II:51
East Coast Swing, Issue II:94
Edison, Thomas, Issue III:103
Edmiston (David Noah) House, Issue I:4
Edmiston (John S.) House, Issue I:4
Edmiston (Zeb) House, Issue I:4
Eldridge, John, Issue I:38
Elkhorn Tavern, Issue II:84
Elks Club, Issue II:92, 94
Elliott, RoAnne, Issue IV:164
Elm Springs Mill, Issue III:124
Equal Justice Initiative, Issue IV:164, 171
Estes, Lucille (Yell), Issue I:20, 21
Evangeline League, Issue IV:150, 153
Evergreen Cemetery, Issue I:20; Issue II:57; Issue III:108
Ex-Slave Narrative project, Issue II:50

F
Fairgrounds Park, Issue IV:151
Falkvist, Mrs. K.G., Issue III:106
Far West Seminary, Issue III:119, 121
Farmington, AR, Issue I:16; Issue III:112, 119
Fayetteville All-Stars, Issue IV:150, 151
Fayetteville Angels, Issue IV:150, 153, 154, 155
Fayetteville, AR, Issue I:2, 47; Issue II:87, 89
Fayetteville Baptist Association, Issue II:89
Fayetteville, Battle of, Issue I:14
Fayetteville Bears, Issue IV:150, 152, 153
Fayetteville City Band, Issue II:91
Fayetteville City Council, Issue III:126
Fayetteville City Hospital, Issue III:108
Fayetteville Country Club, Issue II: 94; Issue IV:160
Fayetteville Daily Democrat, Issue I:16; Issue II: 90; Issue III:99, 103, 104, 105, 106; Issue IV:153, 154
Fayetteville Educators, Issue IV:150, 151, 152
Fayetteville Ordinance 6, Issue II:88
Fayetteville Ordinance 7, Issue II:88
Fayetteville Ordinance No. 172, Issue II:90
Fayetteville Ordinance No. 793
Fayetteville Temperance Society, Issue II:87

Fayetteville Tigers, Issue IV:148
Fayetteville Equal Suffrage Association, Issue III:99
Fayetteville Farmer's Market, Issue I:47
Fayetteville Female Institute, Issue I:19
Fayetteville Female Seminary, Issue I:15, 16, 18, 19, 21; Issue III:120-122
Fayetteville High School, Issue I:28; Issue IV:148
Fayetteville Historic District Commission, Issue I:24, 29
"Fayetteville Polka," Issue I:15, 18
Fayetteville Public Schools, Issue III:122
Fayetteville Square, Issue I:18
Fayetteville Weavers Guild, Issue II:65, 66, 67
Fayetteville Weekly Democrat, Issue II:88
Feathers, Mrs. John, Issue III:98
Feathers, Tom, Issue III:98, 108
Federal Writers' Project, Issue II:50; Issue IV:167
Finger, Charles, Issue III:106
First Christian Church of Fayetteville, Issue I:14
Fisk, G.O., Issue III:125
Flashback, Issue I:15, 47
Floridians (The), Issue II:94
Fort Smith Twins, Issue IV:149, 150
Frisco Railroad, Issue I:44
Fulbright home, Issue I:28
Fulbright, Pvt. Henry, Issue III:1125
Fulbright, J. William Fulbright, Issue III:104
Fulbright, Jay, Issue III:104
Fulbright, Roberta, Issue III:99, 104, 106, 107

G
Garrett, Thomas J., Issue III:139
Garrison, Dr. Charles G., Issue I:16
Gayeta Lodge, Issue III:106
Gearhart, Gretchen, Issue I:13
Gearhart, Kathryn, Issue I:13
General Federation of Women's Clubs, Issue III:99, 103, 105
Gibson, Christopher Columbus "Lum", Issue II:70
Gibson, Pastor O.L., Issue II:57
Gilbert, Alan, Issue IV:146
Gladen, Willie, Issue II:77
Globe Trotters, Issue II:94
Goddess of Liberty (Miss), Issue II:78, 79, 80, 83, 84
Gold, Mabel Clair, Issue III:105
Gold, Maud Zenobia, Issue III:106; Issue IV:155
Good Government League, Issue III:106
Good Times: A History of Night Spots and Live Music in Fayetteville, Arkansas, Issue II:86-95
Graham, Rev. Robert, Issue III:121
Gregg, Judge, Issue II:89
Grover, Harley, Issue III:106

H
Happy Hollow Farm, Issue III:106
Hampton, Gary, softball complex, Issue III:126
Hanks, Nathan B., Issue III:120
Hardin, Scott, Issue II:94
Harrison, Col. LaRue, Issue III:125
Hartney, Nancy, Issue III:118
Haskins and Sells (accountants), Issue I:34, 35
Hauptman's, Issue II:88
Hawn, Carl, Issue IV:147-148
Hawn, Jack, Issue IV:147
Hawn, Mary Olga Baker, Issue IV:147-148
Hawn, Fred ("Fayetteville Freddie"), Issue IV:146-163
Headquarters House, Issue I:14
Hembree, Della "Aunt Della", Issue II:66, 69
Hempstead County, Issue III:111, 113
Henbest, John Albert, Issue III:120
Highroller Cyclery, Issue I:28
Hillcrest Towers, Issue I:28
Hilltop Camps, Issue III:131-137
Historic Cane Hill nonprofit, Issue I:4, 6, 11
Hogan, J.B., Issue I:1, 2, 23; Issue IV:151
Holiday Open House, Issue I:14
Holcombe School, Issue III:126
Holt Middle School, Issue III:126
Holt, Mrs. Mitchell, Issue II:64
Home Services Department, Issue III:104
Honsinger, Nancy Davenport, Issue II:64, 65, 66, 68
Hooker, Annie, Issue II:77
Hooker, Lesicle, Issue II:77
Hoover, Herbert, Issue III:103
Hudgins, Harry King Wade "Bud", Issue II:55, 56
Hudgins, Harvey H., Issue II:51, 55, 56
Hudgins, Harvey M., Issue II:51, 60
Hudgins, Harvey Zeno "Ross", Issue II:51
Hudgins, Helen Masberne (Wiggans), Issue II:55, 56, 60
Hudgins, Jay "Guy", Issue II:51
Hudgins, Leanora "Nora" Izetta Blakeley,

Issue II:51, 52, 55, 56, 60
Hudgins, Mary D., Issue II:50, 54, 55, 56
Huls, Edward, Issue III:125
Hurley, A.W., Issue II:79
Hurst, J.D., Issue III:104

I
Ice Cream Social, Issue I:14
Images of America: Cane Hill, Issue I:2, 11
Independence (Kansas) Oilers, Issue IV:149
International Association of Altrusa Clubs, Issue III:100
Irwin, Virgil C. Issue II:51

J
James, Ann, Issue III:121, 122
Jefferson, Thomas, Issue III:125
Jim Crow, Issue III:105
Jitter Bug, Issue II:94
Jitterbug Jamboree, Issue II:94
Jive, Issue II:94
Joe Moore Spring, Issue I:8
John S. Edmiston House, Issue I:4, 6
Johnson Barn, Issue I:47
Johnson City Cardinals, Issue IV:150, 156
Johnson, Antoinette Fiduccia, Issue III:110
Johnson, Benjamin Franklin, II, Issue I:47
Johnson, Benjamin Franklin, III, Issue I:47
Johnson, Benjamin Franklin, IV, Issue I:47
Johnson Farm, Issue I:1, 47
Johnson Plumbing, Issue I:28
Johnston, Alice, (Stringfellow), Issue III:101
Jordan, Lioneld, Issue III:111

K
Kate Smith Street, Issue I:1, 15-22
Kentucky-Illinois-Tennessee League, Issue IV:150, 156
Kidd, Tandy, Issue II:52, 59
Kifer, William, Issue III:125
King, Jim, Issue IV:147
Kinkaid, Hugh, Issue I:37
King, Annie, Issue III:106

L
Lambert, Leah, Issue III:100
Lamkin, Captain J.B., Issue II:79, 81
Laner, Monroe, Issue IV:158
Landis, Kenesaw Mountain, Issue IV:154
Lands family, W.R., Issue I:1, 11
Lankford, George E., Issue II:59
Leach Store, Issue I:4
League of American Pen Women, Issue III:99
Leeper, Matthew, Issue III:120
Leflar, Charles, Issue I:1, 32
Lehovec, Bettina, Issue II:50
Lemke, Walter J., Issue III:99; Issue IV:146, 154-155
Lewis Brothers (store), Issue II:67
Lewis, Fay, Issue IV:148
Lewis, Frank, Issue II:57
Lichlyter, Carl, Issue I:45
Lighton, Peggie Sue, Issue III:105-106
Lilly & Company, Issue II:76
Lilly, Park Leroy "Dad", Issue II:66, 69
Lind, Jenny, Issue I:18
Lindy, Issue II:94
Locket, A.S., Issue III:121
Lord Aeck Sargent, Inc., Issue I:29
Los Angeles Dodgers, Issue IV:159
Lovely County, Issue III:118
Lovely, Major William, Issue III:119
Lowell, Amy, Issue III:107

M
Major Earle House, Issue I:4
Maplewood Cemetery (Exeter), Issue II:83
Marinoni, Rosa, Issue III:106
Marion, Marty, Issue IV:157
Markham Hill, Issue III:131
Markham, Joy Pratt, Issue III:131, 137
Markham (Joy Pratt) Gallery, Issue III:131
Marshall, Lewis S., Issue III:122
Martin, Charlie, Issue IV:156
Mashburn Melodies, Issue II:94
Masters, Edgar Lee, Issue III:106
May Day, Issue I:18
McAllister, (Mayor) A.D., Issue IV:153
McConnell, H., Issue III:125
McConnell, Lloyd, Issue I:15
McCulloch, Gen. Benjamin, Issue III:123
McCurdy, James, Issue III:120
McCurdy, Pvt. Sam, Issue III:125
McCurdy, W.A., Issue III:120
McDaniel, Lindy, Issue IV:147, 159
McDaniel, Newell, Issue IV:159
McDaniel, Von, Issue IV:147
McGarrah Grove, Issue I:18, 19
McGuire, Lt. Philip, Issue III:125
McMannus, David, Issue III:121
Meadow Spring Historic District, Issue I:1, 23-30
Mecklin, Louisa Ann (Anderson), Issue III:121, 123, 124
Mecklin, Lou, Issue III:123
Mecklin, Mary Elizabeth, Issue III:123
(Mecklin), Merinda (Rindy), Issue III:123

(Mecklin), Net, Issue III:123
Mecklin, Rev. Robert, Issue III:121, 123, 124, 125, 126
(Mecklin), Wesley, Issue III:123
Meltzer, Paige, Issue III:105
Methodist Manse, Issue I:4
Milam, Dr. Paul, Issue I:35
Milligan, Della "Aunt Della", Issue II:63, 69
Milligan, Thomas L., Issue II:69
Mitchell, Owen, Issue II:91
Mitchell's Orchestra, Issue II:91
Modern Literature Club, Issue III:107
Monett (Missouri) Red Birds, Issue IV:150, 154, 156
Monumental News (The), Issue II:77
Moon, Wally, Issue IV:147, 159
Moore, Dwight M., Issue II:65, 70
Moore, Elizabeth "Betsy" French, Issue II:65, 66, 70
Moore (Joe) Spring, Issue I:8
Moose Lodge, Issue II:92, 94
Morley family, Issue II:78
Morriss, Jim, Issue I:43
Motley, Bob, Issue II:91
Motley, Trop, Issue II:91
Mount, Joseph, Issue III:125
Mount Comfort, Issue III:118-128
Mount Comfort Cemetery, Issue III:127
Mount Comfort Church, Issue III:123
Mount Comfort Female Academy, Issue III:122
Mount Comfort School, Issue III:122
Mount Kessler, Issue I:47
Mount Nord Historic District, Issue I:23, 29
Muncie, Elia, Farm, Issue III:125-126
Murphy, Isaac, Issue III:120, 121
Muscogee Chiefs, Issue IV:149, 150

N
Nation, Tom, Issue II:91
National American Woman Suffrage Association, Issue III:100
National Association of Professional Baseball Leagues, Issue IV:151
National Guard Armory, Issue II:91, 92, 94
National Park Service, Issue I:23
National Register of Historic Places, Issue I:1, 4, 7, 23, 26, 27, 47
Neal, Col. James P., Issue I:16
Nelson, Rex, Issue I:14
New Echota Treaty, Issue III:121
Newbern, Carolyn, Issue I:29
New Iberia (Louisiana) Cardinals, Issue IV:150, 153, 154
Newton, Samuel, Issue III:120
Noland, Eliza Tuttle, Issue III:124
(Noland), Harriet, Issue III:124
Noland, Martha Alice, Issue III:124
(Noland) "Uncle Sam," Issue III:124
North Carolina State League, Issue IV:150, 156
Northwest Arkansas Handweavers Guild, Issue II:71
Northwest Arkansas Times, Issue I:18; Issue II:55, 56; Issue III:106, 108
Nunnelly, Lowry, Issue IV:147-148

O
Oaks Cemetery, Issue IV:165, 167, 168, 171
Oosterhous, Kara, Issue I:29
Orton, Lisa, Issue III:131
Osage, Issue III:119
Owen's Ginger Band, Issuse II:93
Owl Creek School, Issue III:122, 126
Ozark Institute, Issue III:119, 121, 122, 123, 125, 126
Ozark Mountain Crafts, Issue II:63-73
Ozark Native Craft Association (Winslow), Issue II:71
Ozark Social Club, Issue II:90
Ozark Theater, Issue II:90

P
Parks, Barry, Issue IV:174-175
Parks, Elizabeth Jane, Issue II:52
Parks, Fannie, Issue II:52, 59-60
Parks, George, Issue II:54
Parks, Jim, Issue II:57, 62
Parks, John C., Issue II:62
Parks, John P. A., Issue II:52, 53, 54, 60
Parks, Myrtle, Issue IV:174
Parks-Spencer, Susan, Issue I:1, 15, 17; Issue IV:174-175
Partridge House (William W. Simpson House), Issue I:25, 27
Pat's Melody Boys, Issue II:94
Payne, Miss Louis, Issue III:104
Pea Ridge, Issue II:76, 78; Issue III:123
Pea Ridge National Military Park, Issue II:84; Issue III:119
Pea Ridge "reconciliation monument" (Lucy Daniels), Issue II:76
Peabody Hall, Issue I:33
Peel, Zillah Cross, Issue II:50, 54, 59
Pence, Dillard, Issue II:91
Philips, Polly, Issue III:139
Phillips, Jack, Issue II:57
Pincus, Dr. Karen, Issue I:34, 35, 38, 39

Pollard, James, Issue III:125
Prairie Grove, Issue I:1, 15-22
Prairie Grove Cemetery, Issue I:17
Prairie Meeting House, Issue I:18
Prairie Township, Issue II:87
Pratt Place, Issue III:134
Pratt-Markham family home, Issue III:135
Presbyterian Church, Issue I:4, 5, 6; Issue III:119
Prichard, Ann Johnson Dallett, Issue I:47
Prohibition, Issue II:92
Pryor, Lorna, Issue IV:176-177
Ptak, V. James, Issue IV:150
Puckett, Captain (first name unknown), Issue II:81
Putnam-Harris House (John S. Vest House), Issue I:25, 26, 27
Pyeatte, H. C., Issue I:9
Pyeatte-Moore Mill, Issue I:10

Q
Queen of May, Issue I:18-19
Quesenbury, William, Issue I:19

R
Raterman, Travis, Issue I:24
Razorback Park, Issue III:126
Read, James, Issue III:102, 103
Read, Leslie Stringfellow, Issue II:55-56; Issue III:98-109
Reid, Georgia (Standin), Issue III:139-140
Red Cross, Issue III:99, 104
Redford, Laura Lynn, Issue II:63
Relief Association and Thrift House, Issue II:64, 65
Reno, Carolyn, Issue II:71
Reunion Association of the Blue and the Gray, Issue II:78
Reunited Soldiery, Issue II:80
Rice, Sam, Issue II:55
Richardson, Ellen Earle, Issue I:7
Richardson, Robert, Issue I:1, 4-10, 12
Ricke, Major, Issue I:44, 45
Rickey, Branch, Issue IV:154, 156
Ridge, John, Issue III:121
Ridge, John Rollin, Issue III:121
Ridge, Sarah Birth Northup, Issue III:121
Rigg, Alice, Issue II:74
Roach, Max, Issue II:94
Roberts, John R., Issue II:81
Roberts, Giselle, Issue III:103
Rockefeller, John D., Issue III:103
Rogers, Issue I:44
Rogers Apple Knockers, Issue IV:151
Roller Rink, Issue II:94
Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, Issue II:91
"Roy Brumfield and Fayetteville's Downtown Motor Lodge," Issue I:13
Ruby, Aaron, Issue III:110

S
Salem Lutheran Cemetery (Springdale), Issue II:77
Sams, Pearl, Issue II:74, 81
Sandberg, Carl, Issue III:106
Sandin, John, Issue III:138
Sandin, Rosalie, Issue III:138
Sawyer, Sophia, Issue I:16, 18; Issue III:119, 121
Schoendienst, Red, Issue IV:157
Scrape, Amanda (Standin), Issue III:140, 141
Searcy, Annabel, Issue I:43
Searcy, Lockwood, Issue I:43
"Secession and Reunion" (dance-drama), Issue II:78
Shaw, Clifford, Issue IV:150
Shawnee (Oklahoma) baseball team, Issue IV:149
Shelton, Ellis, Issue I:13
Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Issue I:7, 43; Issue II:71
Shotton, Burt, Issue IV:155
Siegel, Virginia, Issue III:130
Siloam Springs Buffalos, Issue IV:151
Simpson (William W.) House (Partridge House), Issue I:25, 27
Skelton, James, Issue III:125
Skelton, William K., Issue III:125
Slaughter, Enos, Issue IV:157
Smith, Catharine, Issue I:15
Smith, Hal, Issue IV:147, 158, 159
Smith, Mary (daughter of Presley Rucker), Issue I:16
Smith, Mary (wife of Presley Rucker), Issue I:16
Smith, Matilda Catherine ("Kate" or "Katy"), Issue I:16
Smith, Naomi, Issue II:91
Smith, Presley Rucker (P.R., also "Uncle Presley Smith"), Issue I:15, 18, 221
Southern, Mack, Issue II:69
Southern, Sarah Ida Moore, Issue II:69
Southwest Trail, Issue III:119
Southworth, Augustus W., Issue I:20, 212
Special Collections (UofA), Issue III:99; 123
Spink, J.G. Taylor, Issue IV:157
Springdale, AR, Issue I:1, 43, 44, 45

Springdale Midgets, Issue IV:149, 150
Springfield (Missouri) Herald, Issue: 44
Springdale News (The), Issue I:43
Springdale Scrubs, Issue IV:148
Staples, Mable, Issue III:100
Statehood Day Lecture, Issue I:14
St. Joseph (Missouri) Gazette, Issue I:44; Issue IV:153
St. Joseph (Missouri) Saints, Issue IV:152
St. Louis Cardinals, Issue IV:146, 152-160
St. Louis Sporting News, Issue IV:157
Story, Kenneth, Issue I:29
Stringfellow, Alice, Issue III:100-102, 107, 108
Stringfellow, Henry Martyn, Issue III:100, 101, 102
Stringfellow, Horace, Issue III:101
Stringfellow, Leslie, Issue III:101, 102, 107-108
Stringfellow mansion, Issue III:108
Sugg, John G., Issue II:57
Sugg, Ann Wiggans, Issue II:51, 52, 56, 57
Suter, Mary, Issue II:71
Suttle, Frank, Issue II:57

T
Taft, William Howard, Issue III:103
Tarbell, Ida, Issue III:107
Taylor, Richard, Issue III:119
Tharp (Moses B.) House, Issue I:25, 27
The Hollow, Issue III:133
The Tulsa World, Issue I:35
The War Bulletin, Issue III:125
Thompson, Joe, and his Orchestra, Issue II:93
Thompson, Julia Zellner, Issue I:18
Three-Mile Law, Issue II:89, 90
Tin Cup, Issue II:90, 91
Treaty of New Echota, Issue III:119
Truax, H.E., Issue II:64
Tuttle, Eliza (Noland), Issue III:119
Tuttle, Mary, Issue III:124
Tuttle, Solomon, Issue III:118, 120, 121, 124, 127
Twentieth (20th) Century Club, Issue III:99
Twigg, John, Issue II:81, 82
Twigg, Lucy Daniel, Issue II:74-85

U
Ucker family, Issue I:47
Underwood, Craig, Issue III:126
Union City Greyhounds, Issue IV:150, 156
Union Post Colony, Issue III:125
Union veterans, (Civil War), Issue II:78
University High (Peabody High), Issue I:33; Issue IV:148
University of Arkansas, Issue I:3, 23, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33; Issue II:55; Issue III:102, 122; Issue IV:148
University of Arkansas College of Business Administration, Issue I:33, 35
University of Arkansas College of Education, Issue I:33
University of Arkansas golf course club house, Issue III:126
University of Arkansas Libraries, Issue III:130
University of Arkansas Museum, Issue II:71
University of Arkansas Museum Collections, Issue II:68
University of Arkansas Press, Issue II:59
University of Arkansas Sam M. Walton College of Business, Issue I:39
University of Arkansas Special Collections, Issue II:70; Issue III:99
University of the Ozarks, Issue I:3
University of Texas at Austin, Issue I:38

V
Valandra, Issue IV:164, 167, 171
Valenzuela Preservation Studio, Issue I:24
Valenzuela, S. Elizabeth, Issue I:24
Van Dorn, Major General Earl, Issue II:80
Van Hoose, James H., Issue III:121
Van Hoose, Peter, Issue III:121
Vaughn, Jim, Issue II:57
Vest (John S.) House (Putnam-Harris House), Issue I:25, 26, 27
Virginia Hotel, Issue II:87
Volstead Act 1919, Issue II:91

W
W.P.A. Weaving Center (Decatur), Issue II:71
Walker, (Judge) David, Issue I:18; Issue III:120
Walker, (Sheriff) Henry, Issue II:91
Walker, Melissa, Issue III:103
Walker, Wythe, Issue III:125
Walker's Cleaners, Issue I:28
Wall, Bacon, Issue III:139
Wall, Harriet, Issue III:138-143
Wall, John B., Issue III:139
Wall, Liolind, Issue III:139
Wall, Polly (Philips), Issue III:139
Wall, Queen, Issue III:139, 140
Wall, Samuel, Issue III:139
Wall, Thomas N., Issue III:138-140

Wall, Thomas, Jr., Issue III:139
Walton Arts Center, Issue III:131
Warbritton home, Issue I:27
Warner, H.C., Issue I:43
Washburn, Rev. Cephas, Issue III:120-121
Washburn, Edward Payson, Issue III:121
Washington County Fair, Issue I:47
Washington County Fair Grounds, Issue IV:153
Washington County Historical Society, Issue I:12, 13-14, 47; Issue III:99
Washington County Community Remembrance Project, Issue IV:165, 168, 171, 172
Washington County Women's Suffrage Association, Issue III:99
Washington Elementary School, Issue I:28
Washington-Willow Historic District, Issue I:23, 29; Issue III:102
Watkins, Patsy, Issue I:25
Watson Mortuary, Issue II:57
WCHS Annual Meeting, Issue I:14
Weavers' Guild, See Fayetteville Weavers Guild
West Dickson Commercial, Issue I:23, 29
West Fork, Issue III:123
White Hangar (Drake Field), Issue I:23, 29
Whitmire, Martha Elizabeth "Betty" Davenport, Issue II:64, 68
Whitmire, Miles, Issue II:68
Wier, Sarah Ann "Aunt Sarah" Southern, Issue II:66, 69
Wiggans, Ann, Issue II:53, 56
Wiggans, Clifford Barnes, Issue II:56, 60
Wiggans, Helen Masberne Hudgins, Issue II:56, 57, 60
Wilcox, Ralph, Issue I:13, 24, 29
William Welch House, Issue I:4
Williams, Al, Issue IV:153
Williams, Callie, Issue I:24
Williams, David, Issue IV:161
Williams, Nancy, Issue III:100
Williams, Dr. Nolan, Issue I:36, 37
Wills, Bob, and his Orchestra, Issue II:92, 94
Wills, Johnnie Lee and his Rhythmaires, Issue II:94
Wilson Park, Issue I:29
Wilson, Charles Morrow, Issue III:106
Wilson, Woodrow, Issue III:103, 107
Windon, Katrina, Issue III:130
Witness (The): The Voice of the People in the Will of God, Issue II:87
Wolf, A.F., Issue I:28
Women's News Service, Inc., Issue III:99
Woodruff, Robert, Issue III:116
Woody, Frank, Issue III:124
Woolsey Farmstead, Issue III:110-117
Woolsey Farmstead Visioning Committee, Issue III:111
Woolsey, Cardinal, Issue III:113
Woolsey, Elizabeth, Issue III:114
Woolsey, Gilbert C., Issue III:114, 115, 116
Woolsey, Greene Smith, Issue III:114, 115, 116
Woolsey, Henry, Issue III:114
Woolsey, James, Issue III:114
Woolsey, Jane, Issue III:114, 116
Woolsey, John, IV, Issue III:112, 113, 114
Woolsey, Josiah Patterson, Issue III:114, 116
Woolsey, Laurena, Issue III:114, 116
Woolsey, Louisa, Issue III:114, 116
Woolsey, Madison, Issue III:114
Woolsey, Martha Elizabeth, Issue III:114
Woolsey, Mary (Gilbert), Issue III:112, 113, 114
Woolsey, Matilda (Thompson), Issue III:112-116
Woolsey, Samuel, Issue III:110-116
Woolsey, Sarah, Issue III:113
Woolsey, Wesley Fletcher, Issue III:114
Woolsey, William, Issue III:113
Woolsey Wet Prairie, Issue III:110
Works Progress Administration, Issue II:50, 51, 53, 59
Wren Grove, Issue III:133
Wright, Cassaundra Drake, Issue I:1, 32
Wright, Mary Jane "Aunt Mary Jane" Muncy, Issue II:63, 68-69
Wylie, Ted, Issue II:57

X, Y
Yeliseyev, Vladislav, Issue III:110
Yell, Gov. Archibald, Issue I:20
Yell, Archibald (Arch), Issue I:20, 21; Issue III:120
Yell, Artemicia (Miscia), Issue I:20
Yell, DeWitt Clinton, Issue I:20
Yell, Jane, Issue I:20
Yell, Lucille Estes, Issue I:20, 21
Yell, Mary, Issue I:20
Yellow Jacket newspaper, Issue I:1, 43-46
Young, Susan, Issue I:1, 43; Issue II:71
Youngblood, Joshua Cobbs, Issue III:98

Z
Zeb Edmiston House, Issue I:4
Zellner, Ferdinand, Issue I:15, 18
Zuck, Don and his Southern Club Orchestra, Issue II:94

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